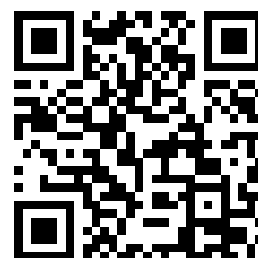

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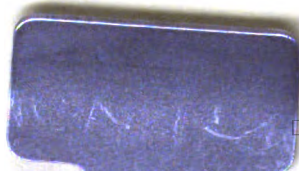
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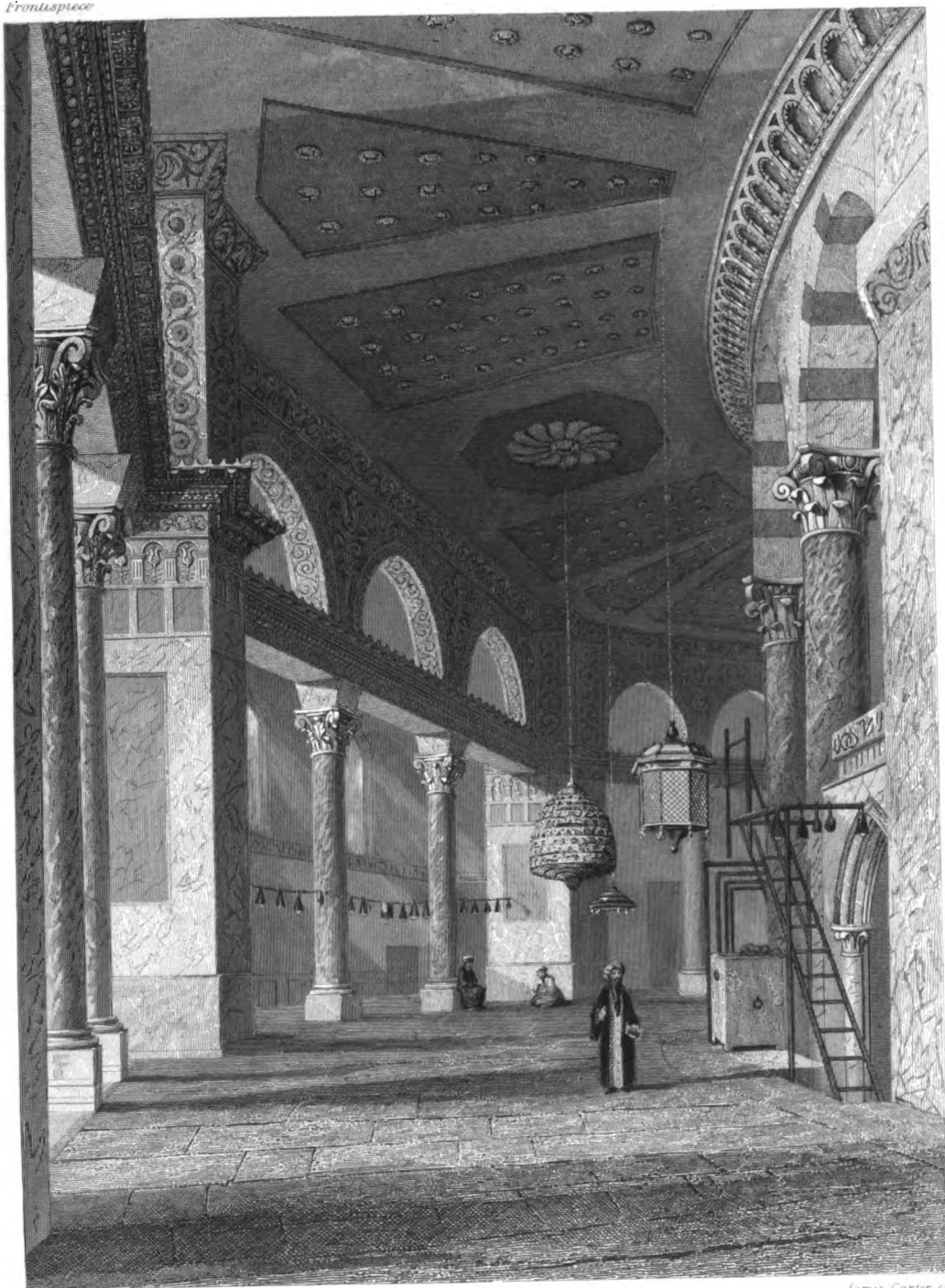
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AN ESSAY
ON
THE ANCIENT TOPOGRAPHY
OF
JERUSALEM.

Frontispiece



F. G.atherwood del.

James Carter sc.

INTERIOR OF THE DOME OF THE ROCK

AN ESSAY
ON
THE ANCIENT TOPOGRAPHY
OF
JERUSALEM,

WITH RESTORED PLANS OF THE TEMPLE, &c.,

AND

PLANS, SECTIONS, AND DETAILS

OF

THE CHURCH BUILT BY CONSTANTINE THE GREAT
OVER THE HOLY SEPULCHRE,

NOW KNOWN AS THE MOSQUE OF OMAR,

And other Illustrations.

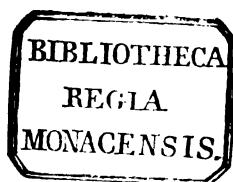
BY

JAMES FERGUSSON, F.R.A.S.

AUTHOR OF THE 'ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ROCK-CUT TEMPLES OF INDIA,' AND 'PICTURESQUE
ILLUSTRATIONS OF ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE IN HINDOSTAN.'

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P R E F A C E.

It may perhaps at first sight appear that some apology is due to the public from one who, never having been near the City of Jerusalem, attempts not only to write on the Topography of the place, but pretends at the same time to put all those right who, together with the advantage of local knowledge, have brought far more learning to bear on the subject than he can pretend to bring.

I fear, however, that the subject itself demands more apology than the manner in which it is treated: had I discovered an invisible curve in the Parthenon, or an illegible Greek or Lycian inscription, I might have appealed at once to every educated man in England, and been sure of awakening his sympathies in the object of my investigation; but a mere matter of Christian, and more especially of Jewish antiquity, is a thing so utterly despised in our universities and public schools, that I must look to a lower and less educated—but fortunately a more numerous class—for those readers who will take an interest in the inquiry. With them—as with myself—it will merely be a question as to the results arrived at, and their bearing on the great questions of the Bible history and the traditions of the early Church. If I am right in my conclusions, I am convinced I need offer no apology either for my matter or my manner to any sincere Christian: if, on the contrary, I should be proved to be wrong, I fear no apology would save me from the contempt or castigation which will certainly be my lot,—but of which I have no fears, for I never felt so confident of any thing in my life, as I do that I am right on all the principal points of the topography of Jerusalem. That I may have overlooked some details, or erred in some of the minor ones, is more than probable; and my want of personal local knowledge may be the cause of this: but if I am correct regarding the position and dimensions of the Temple, of the Hippicus, and of Sion, and above all, regarding the site of the Holy Sepulchre, I willingly resign the other points to any one who may undertake to investigate them, as I have introduced them merely as bearing on the main argument of the work.

Perhaps it may serve to make the matter of the following pages more intelligible, if I state briefly in what manner I arrived at the conclusions they are meant to illustrate, regarding the topography of the Holy City. It was simply this: when in India, I devoted such leisure time as I could spare from the active occupations of a mercantile life, to exploring and investigating the antiquities of the country. As far as the Hindu remains were concerned, I found that the country contained within itself all the materials necessary for the investigation,¹—the style was born there, and reached perfection within its boundaries; but when I turned to the Mahometan antiquities, which are far more numerous and quite as beautiful—if not more so—in themselves, I found that I had to deal with a style which had been imported, full grown, into India. There were, it is true, some of the earlier buildings (of the first years of the thirteenth century) erected by Hindu architects, in which they display a singular predilection for their own modes of construction—and others built by Mahometans, in which they show a predilection—not so singular, it must be confessed,—for the materials, and consequently the forms of their predecessors; which gave rise to a style singularly picturesque, but scarcely original. For more than five centuries the style had been forming itself in another country, and there only could its origin and history be traced.

When our armies penetrated into Afghanistan, I was in hopes that at least two centuries would have been added to the Indian history of the Mahometan styles; for at Ghuznee there still exist numerous buildings of the age of Mahmoud, and consequently of the early part of the eleventh century. Strange, however, as it may appear to those who are not practically acquainted with the ignorance or apathy that prevails on these subjects in India, it is nevertheless true, that among all the pretty picture-books which the officers of the Indian armies have published to illustrate the scenes of their defeat and disasters, not one has turned aside to sketch these most interesting remains;—certainly no view has been published, nor have I been able to ascertain that such a thing exists.² Baffled, consequently, in the hope

¹ The result of these inquiries has been partially given to the world in the 'Illustrations of the Rock-Cut Temples of India,' published in 1845, and the 'Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture,' now in course of publication. Whether the Mahometan series will ever be published or not, depends on the encouragement that may be afforded to the series now publishing.

² Did our course of education in this country extend to any thing beyond an imperfect knowledge of two dead languages, or to any other art except the written literature of the Greeks and Romans, there would have been numbers with our armies who would not only have illustrated the tomb of Mahmoud, but known its value; and the Governor-General of India, before amusing Europe with the proclamation regarding its celebrated gates, would have ordered some officer to see if the gates were not a part of the same design as the building they adorned, and covered with details of the same age and

of being able to carry the chain of evidence westward back to the country of its birth, I was forced to begin at the other end, and naturally turned my attention first to the mosques of Egypt and Syria. Of the greater part of these, I could obtain but very few and very imperfect representations in the East; but the one of which the greatest number of views existed was the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem; and it certainly was, of all those I then knew, or now know, the most exceptional. Had it been called the Tomb of Omar, or of any other Chalif, I probably should have inquired no further: with the superficial knowledge I then had of its details, its form would have corresponded very tolerably with its destination; but the more intimate I became with the style, the more was I puzzled to find out what could have induced Omar or Abd el Malek to build a mosque in this form; and often and often I repeated to myself the simple words,—Mosque of Omar,—in hope either to familiarize my ear to their dissonance, or, perhaps, in hope that I might at last discover some hidden meaning in them that might tend to solve the riddle.

On my return to this country, the first work I met with that seemed to throw any light on the subject was the 'Travels of Ali Bey.' The moment I saw his plan of the Haram, I jumped to the conclusion that the Mosque of Omar and the Aksa were Christian edifices, taken possession of by the Mahometans, as they had converted St. Sophia at Constantinople, and other churches elsewhere; and I turned to the best modern travels, to see who confirmed this view of the matter. I found that many,—indeed the majority,—were of opinion that the Aksa was a converted Christian building; but this I scarcely cared about: not one even hinted at the same theory regarding the Mosque of Omar. I consequently bowed to their superior authority, for they were men learned in all the knowledge of the East, with such local information as I could not pretend to; and, concluding that I must be mistaken, I laid it aside as one of the unsolved problems in the history of art, of which I possess a large, and, I am sorry to say, an increasing collection.

When I was writing that part of my History of Architecture which treats of the Romanesque and Byzantine styles, out of which I conceived the Mahometan architecture must have arisen, I again turned, as a matter of course, to the mosques of Jerusalem: but this time I was in earnest, and

style: at all events, if there was no officer capable of making this comparison, there were many who could draw, and from their drawings the Governor might easily have ascertained that there was nothing Hindu about them, but that they were made for the building in which we found them. As it was, it was left, in the true spirit of the nineteenth century, to the chymist and botanist to ascertain that the sandal-wood gates of Somnath were made, for the tomb of Mahmoud, of Deodar pine from the neighbouring mountains,—a wood utterly unknown at Somnath, or to the southward of Ghuznee.

determined to look for myself; and I had not looked long before I saw enough to convince me that I could not be far wrong in my ideas on the subject; and, at the same time, I thought I could easily see what were the difficulties that had misled my predecessors,—which were, in the first place, the local mistakes about the size of the Temple; and, in the second, the still greater historical error in confining the argument regarding the authenticity of the Sepulchre to the first three centuries after the crucifixion, instead of looking for a solution of the difficulty through the following seven,—in the dark ignorance of which the confusion seemed to me much more likely to have arisen than in the comparative enlightenment of the earlier epoch. And though I soon became perfectly convinced myself of the correctness of the views I now publish, I felt at the time, that with the means at my command I should have great difficulty in getting any one to agree with me.

The only means that then occurred to me of getting out of this dilemma was trying, if possible, to gain access to Mr. Catherwood's drawings, which I knew, from the works of Dr. Robinson and Mr. Bartlett, did exist somewhere. Mr. Catherwood was then in Demerara, and, in answer to a letter I wrote him, he gave me hopes he would accede to my wishes when he returned to this country, which he did last autumn. Owing, however, to his ill health, and various causes, it was not till last January that I saw the drawings; but when I did see them, they left no doubt in my mind that my views were correct, which every subsequent research has only tended to confirm.

The history of these drawings is so fully narrated by Mr. Catherwood himself, in Mr. Bartlett's work,¹ that I need not repeat it here, farther than to state that they were made by Messrs. Catherwood, Arundale, and Bonomi, working in conjunction in the year 1833. Since then, they have been exhibited at converzationes and to learned societies over and over again, and some of them have been published in Finden's 'Landscape Illustrations of the Bible,'²—in Dr. Robinson's and Mr. Bartlett's works, and I dare say elsewhere; but by far the most interesting portion still remains in their portfolios,—a fact which I confess even now appears to me somewhat astonishing; for, making every allowance for the apathy or ignorance of the English,—and no one is prepared to allow fuller measure of this than I am,—it does seem strange that during the fourteen years that these drawings have been known to exist in England, not one man should have been found who took sufficient interest in the subject to give them to the public. Bad as we are, surely one would

¹ Bartlett's 'Walks about Jerusalem,' p. 148, *et seq.*

² The wood-cut, p. 96, is taken from a drawing made by Mr. Roberts from a sketch by Mr. Catherwood, and engraved for Mr. Finden's beautiful work.

think that one individual might have existed among the clergy who fill our chapters and collegiate institutions, who have both means and leisure and learning for such a purpose, or one nobleman or gentleman, who would interest himself in the matter, if only sufficiently to guarantee the artists against loss, if they undertook the trouble of the publication, which they were at any time willing to do. But after having, at the risk of their lives, and at great sacrifices of time and trouble, made these drawings, they naturally felt it hard that they should besides be called upon to incur a considerable risk and almost certain pecuniary loss, to enlighten the ignorance of those who would not move a finger to help them; and while the upper classes are so supine, of course no bookseller could be found to undertake so unprofitable a work.

When I met these gentlemen in February last, they agreed, without hesitation, to afford me such information as I required to put my argument into a tangible shape, and, with a liberality for which I cannot sufficiently express my thanks, without any stipulation for remuneration to themselves:¹ and from the very handsome manner that they have treated me, it will be no small gratification to me if this work excites sufficient interest in their labours to enable them to give them to the world in a shape worthy of their beauty. It is quite certain that no one else possesses the information they do, and it is not at all probable that any one will soon have an opportunity of obtaining it; and the only obstacle about publishing it is, that it is a matter of no interest to the British public. The works of Solomon, Herod, Constantine, and Justinian awaken no sympathies in the minds of the very classical clergy and gentry of England: had they been Greek or Roman antiquities that these gentlemen had discovered and delineated, they would have made their fortunes by them; but mere Jewish and Christian antiquities seem utterly unworthy of the notice of the clergy, or of those who are called learned in this country.

When I first applied to Mr. Catherwood on this subject, my intention was merely to obtain from him such information as would enable me to satisfy myself as to the age of these buildings, and the purposes for which they were erected; and I intended that my notice of these should only extend to two or three pages of my work, which was all their architectural importance entitled them to. I soon found, however, that I should only have been exposing myself to ridicule, had I asserted that the Mosque of Omar

¹ This is absolutely true as far as Messrs. Catherwood and Bonomi are concerned; and though there was a pecuniary transaction between Mr. Arundale and myself, it was not a compensation to him for the value of the information he afforded to me, but merely such a remuneration as I should have been obliged to give to some other artist to prepare the drawings for the engraver, had he not kindly undertaken that task for me.

was built by Constantine, unless I could also prove that it was not built over the corner-stone of the Temple; and to prove that the Temple was only 600 feet square, required an essay on the ancient walls of Jerusalem, and this again a reference to the Old Testament; and, in short, a disquisition that was totally inadmissible in an essay on art. I therefore resolved to put the controversial part of the subject into an Appendix by itself, and to notice the buildings only with reference to their artistic importance in the text.

In consequence of this resolution, the plans engraved on Plate V. were drawn to the scale of 100 feet to 1 inch, which is the scale to which all the plans in the larger work are to be drawn, and were intended to have been wood-cuts interspersed in the text. Long before, however, they were drawn, —much less cut in wood,—I found myself forced to abandon this plan; for my argument grew in writing it out, to such dimensions as to be quite inadmissible as an Appendix; and, at the same time, the subject appeared to me of sufficient importance to justify my publishing it as a separate work, which I consequently determined to do; and having done this, I abandoned the idea of uniformity of scale, either in the plans or details, and had them engraved, without reference to the other work, in exact facsimile of the drawings I had received from Messrs. Catherwood and Arundale. So that whatever may be said regarding my argument, there can be no doubt regarding the drawings on which it is principally based; and the public may depend on them much more than if I had gone to Jerusalem and made them myself. Had it been possible for me to do this, there would have been, no doubt, good-natured persons ready to insinuate that I had accommodated the drawings to my own views of the topography, and that they could not, therefore, be depended upon. As it is, they were made by parties totally unconnected with me, and utterly ignorant of my views, and who still believe that the Mosque of Omar was built either by that Chalif or by Abd el Malek; that Justinian built the Aksa, and that the Temple was at least 1000 feet square; and they do not know now, and will not know, till they receive this work after its publication, that I differ with them on all these points: and as the engravers have had no instructions from me, except to re-produce, as exactly as possible, the drawings entrusted to them, and are as ignorant as the artists of my theories, the reader may, I think, feel assured that this part of the evidence at least is presented to him in the most trustworthy form possible.

Besides, Mr. Arundale is in this country, Mr. Catherwood is not far off, and will soon be here, and they can answer for themselves; and as I do hope that the public will demand further information from them, exposure would be as easy as it is certain, were it attempted in any way to alter the

plans or drawings to suit peculiar views. As far as I am concerned, I know this has not been done; and should further examination of the remains delineated prove that those now published are in any respect incorrect, the blame must rest on those that made them, not on me: but of this I have no fear; and there is nothing I desire more than to see the large drawings and plans published, which, I am convinced, would only serve more and more to confirm the views I have undertaken to support.

The remainder of the evidence rests on books to which I have given references in every case, so that the quotations may be easily verified; and when the book is a rare one, and not easily accessible to the public, I have, in every instance, when the importance of the subject appeared to justify it, quoted the entire passage from the original. In doing this, I am not aware that I have passed over one single passage that appears to tell against my views, though I have omitted many that support them; and to be as sure as I could of this, I have not only turned to all the references I have found in modern authors, but I have taken Dr. Robinson's list of works bearing on the subject, which professes to be nearly, if not quite complete,¹ and gone through all those that refer to the period to which my inquiries extend. If I have overlooked any passage, it is an inadvertence which I shall regret, for I feel my argument to be much too strong to require any subterfuge; and if I have passed over any, it makes out, at least, a *prima facie* case of *suppressio veri* against me, which of all things I wish to avoid; for I know well, that in a controversy of this sort, it cannot avail me long, and must eventually become a weapon to be used against me.

At the same time I would willingly have avoided, if possible, any appearance of entering into any controversy with living authors, regarding the disputed points of the topography of the place; it being quite sufficient for me to prove my own case, without attempting directly to disprove theirs,—as that follows indirectly, as a matter of course,—for, if I am right, they must be wrong, and this is all that is required. I have not, however, I fear, been able to accomplish this in all cases; but with reference to Dr. Robinson and those that support his views, I differ with them only in degree, and the only fault I can find with the learned Professor is, that he does not go far enough: he appears to me to be a most careful and impartial observer, and a most patient reader, but he does not seem to have grasped the subject of the topography of this place, and he is entirely ignorant of the form and value of architectural evidence, which is what has led me to the greatest part of my conclusions, but which is a branch of study to which he seems never to

¹ 'Biblical Researches,' vol. iii. Appendix A, p. 12.

have turned his attention. To the length to which he goes, however, I rely implicitly not only on his observed facts, but also on his reasoning, which is almost always sound and judicious, and certainly always intelligible. I wish I could say the same of Mr. Williams, and those of his party, who take up the opposite side of the question ; but not only do they appear to me to be in almost every instance wrong in their conclusions, but they use a logic, in support of their theories, which I can neither comprehend nor follow : for when a man rests his principal evidence on a series of miracles, performed between the reigns of Constantine the Great, and George the Third, and on a series of monkish traditions, I can only express my regret, that in an enlightened age men should be found to write such books, and, still more, that others should be found to read and admire them. Most willingly would I have omitted all notice of a work, of the spirit of which I so totally disapprove ; but his assertions stand so prominently forward in all controversies on this subject, that unless at least contradicted, there is no room for more sterling reasoning. I have referred to it, however, as seldom as I could.

While this work was passing through the press, and, unfortunately, not till after the first sheets had been printed off, I received Dr. Wilson's 'Lands of the Bible,'¹ to which I should have been too glad to refer, had it come earlier to hand. On almost every point he confirms Dr. Robinson's views, and contradicts those of Mr. Williams and his party : in like manner I agree with him on almost every point ; but, like the American Professor, he stops short at the very threshold of the subject, and leaves all the principal points unsettled, I may say—untouched. The part of most interest to me is his examination of the ancient remains of the second and third walls of Josephus, in which he confirms my views to an extent that is very satisfactory, and does not leave a doubt on my mind that I am as correct as I pretend to be on both these points.

¹ When I commenced writing this work, I was naturally very anxious to know what Dr. Wilson's views of the Topography of Jerusalem were ; for I could not help thinking that a person of his known talent and local knowledge must have discovered, at least, the true position and size of the Temple and Hippicus ; and as I did not know him myself, I got a friend to write to him and ask him the question. In the most gentlemanly manner, he replied by sending the proof sheets of that part of his work which he thought contained the answers to my questions—pp. 433 to 480 of the first volume. As I now know, it was the previous sheet that would have principally interested me.

ANCIENT TOPOGRAPHY OF JERUSALEM.

TOPOGRAPHY OF JOSEPHUS.

THERE is no city in the whole world whose topography ought to be of more interest to us than that of Jerusalem, because it was the city, *par excellence*, of that people whose religion is the foundation not only of the Christian but of the Mahometan faith,—whose laws are still partially our laws, and whose history is by us adopted as our history,—on which rests the whole framework of the religious existence of all the nations of Europe, and of those of Asia on this side at least of the Indus.

Throughout all Europe, the Scriptures of the inhabitants of Jerusalem are familiar as household words, and are quoted daily and hourly, as containing all that is required for our guidance and instruction: in one point, however, they are (if I may use the expression) deficient, in as much as they do not contain any such description of Jerusalem, or the places around it, as could enable us to understand the topography of the places they refer to; and consequently we are forced to search among the scanty relics of its former greatness, and in the works of subsequent historians, for such details as will enable us to reconstruct the Holy City, and render many of the events narrated in the Bible intelligible to the reader, and capable of at least supplementary illustration from a reference to the localities themselves.

At first sight the question appears one of the easiest the topographer could approach, for the city never was large,—never, in the hour of its greatest prosperity, reaching four miles in circumference; and the ground on which it stood was and is still surrounded by deep and well-defined valleys, enclosing hills whose features are still

discernible; and within these boundaries there are still sufficient remains to fix the locality of some of its more important buildings, which should serve as starting points to enable us to determine the position of the others.

Besides these natural advantages, we possess a detailed description of the city by Josephus, an historian intimately acquainted with the localities from his childhood till nearly the period when, in mature age, he wrote the chapters which refer to this subject, and whose knowledge consequently of the facts no one can doubt; nor can I conceive any possible motive that could induce him, knowingly, to falsify the topography of his native place.

Notwithstanding all this, however, it would be difficult to conceive a greater variety of opinion on such a subject than exists among those who have studied and attempted to settle the disputed points of this question; as any one may see by even the most cursory reference to the works of Drs. Clarke¹ and Olshausen,² or Professor Robinson³ and Mr. Williams,⁴ or Mr. Krafft,⁵ which represent the five most recent and popular theories on the subject, and which differ from one another to an extent that is almost ludicrous, considering that they are writing on the same subject, and with the same materials at hand, and that, with one exception, they were all intimately acquainted with the locality they describe.

Great part, however, of the diversity of opinion may be traced to the circumstance of a theological dispute having been introduced into what should have been a question of pure topography; one party contending for the identity of the present Holy Sepulchre with that in which the body of Christ was laid when taken down from the cross; and consequently they are obliged, in order to make their assumption correspond with the Biblical narrative, to force that which is now in the middle of the city, outside the walls, and to alter the whole disposition of those walls to suit this theory. Those,

¹ Dr. E. D. Clarke, 'Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa,' London, 4to, 1811.

² Justin Olshausen zur Topographie des Alten Jerusalem, Kiel, 1833.

³ 'Biblical Researches,' 8vo, 1841.

⁴ 'Holy City,' 8vo, 1845.

⁵ 'Die Topographie Jerusalems,' Bonn, 1846.

on the other hand, who do not believe in the identity of the sepulchre, have been more intent on disproving the assumption of their rivals, than in settling the less disputed points; and what would, I believe, have been perfectly plain to both parties, had not the question supervened, has in consequence been overlooked and misunderstood.

The spirit of this religious controversy has, as a matter of course, been extended to the character of the only author whose works were capable of setting the matter at rest, and no writer of antiquity has been assailed with more vehemence than Josephus, by the party whose views his writings interfered with: on the other hand, no one has been the subject of such extravagant eulogium from those who wish to enlist his authority in support of their theories. As almost invariably happens in these cases, both parties are almost equally wrong; and, judging this writer by his own merits, it does not appear difficult to form a correct estimate of his value. When I first took up his works, I was, I confess, inclined to rate his authority as an historian very low, and even now there are few of his statements that I would take merely on his *ipse dixit*. But at the same time his writings are an immense storehouse of facts, which the chronologist or topographer could ill spare from the scanty store that antiquity has left him; and when we know the animus that guided Josephus in his composition, it does not appear difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff, and to guard against being misled by any false statements on his part.

From the first page of his 'Antiquities' to the last of his answer to Apion, Josephus must, I conceive, be looked upon as a special pleader advocating the cause of his people against the slanders and the scoffs of the Gentile world, and often betraying that touchiness which has distinguished similar pleadings of his countrymen against that scorn which has been their lot, from that day to the present hour. But in all this he never forgets that he is pleading before an enlightened and critical tribunal, where any palpable absurdity would revolt his hearers, and any false statement would instantly be made use of against him, to invalidate even those facts which were not open to contradiction. From his answer to Apion we know the privilege was used against him in a manner that cut him to the quick; but

throughout his writings it is difficult to detect his ever committing himself to any tangible false statement; and if he does occasionally indulge in a little hyperbole, he almosts immediately qualifies, or retracts it, or at least provides himself with a loop-hole to creep out by, if attacked. Of this I shall have occasion to point out several instances in the sequel; but in the mean time, bearing in mind that the works of Josephus are a pleading in favour of his people, and that there is consequently a tendency, whenever he dares, to exaggerate, not only their historical greatness in past times, but also their recent magnificence and power,—that whenever he can with safety, he exaggerates, and on the contrary never diminishes or undervalues any thing belonging to the Jews,—we may safely take his works as our guide, without much fear of being misled by them.

With regard to the topographical portion of his works, with which we are at present more immediately concerned, it must be borne in mind that he was writing in the presence of Titus's army, who had been with him on the spot, only a few years before his description of the city was written, and who consequently were almost as well acquainted with its localities as himself, and would instantly have detected any glaring mis-statement. It is true he was free to indulge a little in describing the interior of the Temple, which no Gentile had entered till it was a mass of flame; and with the pavement slippery with the hot blood of Jews and Romans, it is not likely the latter would be very critical in their examination of its architectural ordinance: he might safely exaggerate the height of towers that were overthrown in the siege, or the splendour of palaces that were burnt to the ground; and his absurd statements of the population of the city, and the number of captives, was a greater compliment to the conquerors than to the conquered, and might be allowed to pass without question; but when he came to lineal horizontal dimensions he appears always to have felt himself checked: the foundations of the buildings still remained, Roman legions were encamped among the ruins of the vanquished city, and in those days, as now, the "measuring tape" was an argument against which it was difficult to appeal. And he appears to have felt this, for so minutely correct does Josephus appear to be in all his statements

on this point, that I have been sometimes tempted to believe he had a plan of the city under his eyes when he wrote the description of Jerusalem.

I am not, however, going to inquire into the state of the quarter-master-general's department in Titus's army, or whether the agrimensores had made a plan of the city or not; nor perhaps is it necessary,—for there are inadvertencies or oversights in the description sufficient to render it more than probable that he had no such aid, though he must have had notes and memoranda of some sort to assist his memory; the same probably that the Talmudists used some time afterwards in the composition of the Middoth;—but the difference between the two appears to be, that Josephus used the materials at his command only to assist his memory and confirm his local experience; the Rabbis, on the contrary, used them to obtain a knowledge of what they were personally ignorant of: hence, though the Talmud may sometimes assist us by its superior fulness, in all disputed cases Josephus must be considered as the paramount authority. Be this as it may, I know of no traveller in modern times who, without a plan, could write, at such a distance both of time and place, a more correct description of such a city, than Josephus has left us of his native place; and I feel convinced that if there is any thing in it we do not understand, it is our fault, not his;—the only reservation which it is always necessary to bear in mind being, that in many instances he may be convicted of gross and wilful exaggeration; but in no instance has he been even suspected of the opposite fault, or that of detracting from the size, splendour, or power, of any thing belonging to his unfortunate race.

THE TEMPLE.

Josephus's description of the City and Temple of Jerusalem is contained in the 4th and 5th chapters of the 5th book of the 'Wars of the Jews:' there is another description of the Temple, though not so full, in the 11th chapter of the 15th book of the 'Antiquities,' and various notices dispersed throughout both the 'Antiquities' and

‘History of the Wars,’ which I shall refer to as necessary; but the principal authority is the chapters first named. I shall not, however, follow the arrangement of Josephus in even these chapters, but will begin first with the Temple, as the most important point in the city, and the one whose situation is most easily determined, though at the same time it is the one about which the greatest mistakes have been made; and the misconception regarding its position and dimensions have been those which I conceive to have misled modern writers most in attempting to fix the other sites mentioned by our author.

With scarcely an exception, all authors are agreed that the Temple stood within the enclosure now called the Haram el Scherif, or noble sanctuary, of which a plan is given, Plate IV., as it now is: the only question is, whether it occupied the whole of the area, or if not the whole, how much, and what part. Josephus,¹ the Talmud,² and I believe all ancient authors, are agreed that the Temple was a perfect square, and consequently rectangular. Of the Haram, only one angle is a right angle, that on the south-west; and the first presumption therefore is, that this is one of the angles of the Temple, and that the other three cannot be so.

It may be said that Josephus, though asserting this, might easily be mistaken in an angle only a few degrees more or less. In all the temples, however, of Palmyra, Baalbec, Athens, &c., of about this age, the temenoi or enclosures are, without an exception, exactly rectangular; and the probability therefore is, that this one was so also. But this is of little importance.

With regard then to its dimensions, Josephus asserts most distinctly that it was four stadia in circumference, each angle or side containing one stadium.³ Again he asserts that the Temple, together with the fortress Antonia, was six stadia in circumference.⁴ Again, in describing the southern cloister, he repeats that it was one stadium in length;⁵ and in speaking of the eastern side, he says it was 400 cubits,⁶ or exactly one stadium in length; and lastly, in describing

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. v. 2.

³ Antiq. Book xv. chap. xi. 3.

⁵ Antiq. Book xv. chap. xi. 9.

² Middoth, chap. ii. 1.

⁴ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. v. 2.

⁶ Book xx. chap. x. 7.

the building of the Temple by Solomon, he says, he elevated the ground for 400 cubits, meaning, as the context explains, on each side.¹ There is perhaps no single assertion in the whole works of Josephus in which he is so perfectly consistent and undeviating as this, and no author that I have consulted has been able to offer even a plausible suggestion to account for his underrating so much the dimensions of the Temple, while exaggerating every thing else connected with it. As for instance, within a very few lines of his sober horizontal dimension of 600 feet, he uses an absurd hyperbole in speaking of the height of this very cloister, saying, that it was so high that if one looked down from the top of the battlements they would be giddy, while the sight could not reach to such an immense depth as the bottom of the valley below.² Yet notwithstanding this, all have rejected it, and assumed that the Temple was 900 or 1000 feet square; and in support of this view they quote most devoutly the Talmud, which asserts that the Temple was 500 cubits square,—and though on every other point they reject the Talmud as utterly unworthy of credit or even of notice, in this one instance it seems almost universally to be admitted as the paramount authority.

The one difficulty that has given rise to all this controversy is, that the length of the south wall of the enclosure of the Haram is 927 feet;³ and the same ancient masonry of large stones exists at the south-east as at the south-west angle: and besides, Josephus asserts that the cloister extended from valley to valley,⁴ which seems to be the expression that has principally misled modern topographers. By

¹ Antiq. Book viii. chap. iii. 9.

² Book xv. chap. xi. 5.

³ Dr. Robinson states this at 955, ('Biblical Researches,' vol. i. p. 419, *et passim*,) Mr. Catherwood, in Bartlett's 'Walks about Jerusalem,' at 940, ('Walks,' p. 161,) and other authors, at even less than this. The measure above quoted is taken from Mr. Catherwood's large plan, made out to a scale of 10 feet to an inch, with all the measures carefully protracted and marked upon it, and must therefore be very near the truth. The plan was drawn out after the information afforded to Mr. Bartlett, which will account for a discrepancy between the two measurements furnished by Mr. Catherwood; and owing to the projection of an irregular mass of buildings behind the mosque El Aksa, it is extremely difficult to measure this wall correctly from the outside, which will explain Dr. Robinson's not being nearer the truth.

⁴ Antiq. Book xv. chap. xi. 5.

the eastern valley, however, it will be clear from the sequel that he means not the valley of Cedron, but that depression, covered by the three western ranges of vaults, which was a valley in his time, on the brink of which the wall of the Temple stood, as high as the eastern wall of the Haram now does. All, however, have overlooked the fact, that at least 320 feet of this space is filled up with vaults erected long afterwards, in the time of Justinian, as will be proved further on; and that a wall does run north and south at right angles with the southern wall, and at a distance of 600 feet from the south-western angle of the Temple enclosure, exactly answering the description of Josephus,¹ and which, I believe, most undoubtedly was the eastern wall of Herod's temple. Assuming this, at least for the present, let us turn to the portico which occupied the southern side of the Temple, of which we have so minute a description, and see if it affords any means of determining the question. It consisted of 162 pillars of the Corinthian order, arranged in four rows,² one of which was built into the southern wall; the other three stood free, forming three aisles, to which we will return presently.

Rejecting for the present the two odd pillars—though their presence here is most important, as tending to show that Josephus was not speaking at random in using merely round numbers—each row consisted of forty pillars. If they extended from the eastern to the western wall of the Haram, the intercolumniation, or, more correctly speaking, the length of the epistylia, or the distance from centre to centre of the columns, would be about 23 feet, rather more than less;

¹ The stadium used by Josephus consisted of 600 Greek feet, which were equal to about 606 English feet: the difference, however, is so trifling, (only 1 per cent.,) that I have throughout this work used the one as if of the same length as the other; for though my faith is very great in the exactness of the measures given by Josephus, there is scarcely a church of any size on the Continent of Europe whose dimensions, if taken from two different authors, do not vary more than this: and even if I believe him to be correct to an inch, which I am sometimes inclined to suppose he is, I cannot depend sufficiently on the modern measurements at my command to argue the question from them. I should not, however, be surprised to find the Temple of Jerusalem as useful in determining the length of the stadium as the Hecatompodon of Athens is in fixing that of the Greek foot.

² Antiq. Book xv. chap. xi. 5.

a width of intercolumniation utterly unknown to the architects of the ancient world. The epistylia, for instance, of the Pantheon at Rome, are only 15 feet in length; those of the temple of Jupiter Olympus at Athens, about 17; those of the great temple of Baalbec, the same; and even in the somewhat apocryphal temple of Diana at Ephesus, the average length of the epistylia was under 20 feet. It is true we find at Baalbec one architrave, in front of the great temple, rather more than 20 feet in length; and at Palmyra, in the Temple of the Sun, one of nearly 23 feet: but these are only in front of, or over the principal entrances or gateways; and no succession of them is found any where. On the contrary, 15 feet is a usual and ordinary length, and is found frequently repeated at Palmyra and Baalbec, and is nearly that of the magnificent propylæa of the great temple of the latter city, which, though of a somewhat later date, appear to me, as far as I can understand the description, to resemble more nearly this portico than any building I am acquainted with.¹ These forty pillars may have given thirty-nine, forty, or forty-one intercolumniations, according as we choose to assume that they all stood free, or that one, at one or each end, was, like those at the south side, built into the walls: in the first instance, the distance from the centre of one column to that of the next would be about 15' 7", in the latter 14' 8", in the medium one exactly 15 Greek feet; which is so probable, that were I restoring this stoa, without knowing what number of columns it contained, I certainly would adopt something between 14 and 16 feet as the limit each way.

We are not, however, left merely to speculation on the architectural ordinance of the portico for the determination of its length; for beyond the wall which I have fixed as the eastern boundary of the Temple, there exists now a series of vaults, of which a plan is engraved on Plates IV. and V.,² which, in the first place, are so irregularly spaced, that it is absurd to suppose such a colonnade could have stood on them, several of the piers being 17 feet apart,

¹ In all these references to Baalbec and Palmyra, see Dawkins' and Wood's description of those cities. Lond. fol. 1753.

² A plan of these vaults, from Mr. Catherwood's drawing, is engraved, but very incorrectly, in Dr. Robinson's work, vol. i. p. 449.

some less, one at least 30, and two others 21; while, on the other hand, no one can suppose that such columns as Josephus describes, at least 5 feet in diameter, and 37 feet in height,¹ could have stood on the vaults between the piers, which are so weak that the olive-trees have struck their roots through them; nor indeed could the piers themselves support them, as they are only 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 2 inches in section. It is true that these piers and vaults are of a later date, but the fact remains, that to the eastward of the wall no vestige of a foundation exists capable of sustaining the southern portico of the Temple; while to the westward of it, the area is filled up so solidly either with earth or masonry, that no one has ever penetrated into it; and it is almost impossible that, while the large stones of the outer wall exist, the inner foundations should have been so entirely removed. But whether they were or not, the facts of the case are beyond all contradiction, that as far as the appearance of the ground in its present state is concerned, the specification of the length of the southern portico, as given by Josephus, is borne out in the minutest particulars.

To return, however, to the description of the southern portico, the width of the two outer walks or side aisles, as we would call them, was 30 feet each, or exactly that proportion which the Romans were so fond of—the pseudo-dipteral—which arises from leaving out one row of columns. The centre aisle or walk was 45 feet,² or three intercolumniations in width,—a regularity of proportion so like what the Roman architects habitually employed, that it gives considerable confidence in Josephus's description, as well as in the length of the epistylia derived from the division of the whole length of the porch by forty, or more correctly, by thirty-nine; but as I shall afterwards show that one or perhaps two of the spaces were probably wider than the rest, 15 feet may be assumed as the exact width from centre to centre of the columns.

This is further confirmed by what forms by far the most important discovery that has been made in modern times regarding the Temple area; indeed the only one deserving the name,

¹ Antiq. Book xv. chap. xi. 5.

² Joseph. Antiq. *loc. cit.*

which is that of the fragment of an arch first discovered by Dr. Robinson on the western side of the enclosure, near the southern extremity of the wall. I do not think it admits of a doubt that there is a remnant of the bridge so often alluded to by Josephus; first, in narrating the siege of the city by Pompey;¹ afterwards, incidentally;² and twice, when speaking of the final struggle for the possession of the upper city after Titus had possessed himself of the Temple area.³ Still I am inclined to think, from the circumstance of the Jews having so easily cut through the bridge in the time of Pompey, that the structure in his day, though occupying the same place, is not the one we see now, which is composed of such gigantic masses of stone⁴ that it would be almost impossible for an engineer to have removed them; and indeed we have no hint of such an attempt being made in Titus's time, when the necessity was ten times more urgent; and we may consequently infer that what we now see owes its origin to Herod the Magnificent. I may also remark, that the term bridge seems somewhat incorrectly applied, for the arch, according to Dr. Robinson's measurement,⁵ was scarcely more than 40 feet span; and as it springs almost from the present level of the valley, its crown could only have been 20 feet higher; and even allowing 10 feet to the voussours, there would still have been required a mass of masonry 30 feet in height, to bring it to the level of the Temple area; and it is quite uncertain whether there were more arches than this one; so that the term causeway would probably be more appropriate than bridge: altogether I am inclined to regard it as more resembling the immense substructure of the Appian Way near Rome, than any other building I am acquainted with; and if this is the case, it probably was somewhat narrower at the top, or roadway, than at the base.

¹ Antiq. Book xiv. chap. iv. 2; and Jewish Wars, Book i. chap. vii. 2.

² Jewish Wars, Book ii. chap. xvi. 3.

³ Book vi. chap. vi. 2; and Book vi. chap. vii. 1.

⁴ For views of the remains of the arch, see Bartlett's 'Walks,' p. 136; or still better, the Plates of Mr. Tipping in Dr. Traill's translation of Josephus, No. 2.

⁵ 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. p. 425.

But to my mind the most interesting point regarding it is its position: according to Dr. Robinson,¹ it is 39 feet distant from the south corner of the area, and extends 51 feet along the wall; measurements which are fully confirmed by Mr. Catherwood's plan: its centre therefore is 64 feet 6 inches distant from the south-west angle of the Temple. Now the centre of the southern portico, according to Josephus's description,² was 30 feet plus half 45, or 52' 6"; but to this must be added, first, the thickness of the wall, say three or four feet—next, the offset between the upper and lower walls, for the Temple wall was built within³ the lower one,—and lastly, for the talus of the lower walls. What that is no artist has informed us; but in Mr. Tipping's view of the south-east corner,⁴ which has the appearance of being most minutely correct, it is nearly one in ten. At the south-west it does not appear, judging from the same drawing, to be quite so much, but it must be somewhere between 3 and 6 feet for the whole height. These three items, taken together, cannot well make less than 9 or 10 feet, nor perhaps more than 12 or 15 feet, which, added to the above, 52' 6", gives very nearly what we want; so nearly, that I think there can be little doubt but that the centre of the bridge was exactly coincident with the centre of the porch; and it is no small satisfaction to find a measurement taken in the first century so exactly agreeing with one taken in the nineteenth.

This coincidence will serve to explain what always used to appear to me an anomaly in the description of the Temple, for I never could understand why the southern portico was so much more magnificent than the others: the principal portico, I always thought, should have been the western one, as next the city,—or the eastern one, as Solomon's porch, and facing the principal entrance to the Temple,—or the northern, as the only one on a level with the surrounding country, and therefore the more accessible; but looking at the position of the bridge or causeway leading directly to the centre of the city and to the palace, there can be no doubt

¹ 'Biblical Researches,' *loc. cit.*

³ Antiq. Book xv. chap. xi. 3.

² Antiq. Book xv. chap. xi. 5.

⁴ Traill's Josephus, No. 2.

but that this must have been the principal entrance; and a more appropriate and beautiful architectural ordinance probably nowhere existed in the Roman world. Its size perhaps will be more easily comprehended if we compare it with some modern building: if, for instance, the transepts were taken off York Cathedral and added to one end, so as to increase the length, we should have a building somewhat resembling it in form and dimensions, though of course in a different style, and probably not so beautiful in itself; but standing on such a terrace, approached by such a bridge, and being only a porch to a temple, I do not know of any thing to compare to it.

If the bridge were the same width at the top as at the springing of the arch, allowing 3 feet on each side for the parapets, we have exactly 45, or the width of the central aisle, for that of the roadway. I am inclined to think it must have been only those of the intercolumniation, or about 5 feet less; but this is unimportant, and can only be settled by more careful measurements on the spot than have yet been made. It only therefore remains, before leaving this part of my subject, to account for the two columns that I rejected in describing the porch itself, which I have no doubt stood where I have put them, at the end of the bridge; for, as the central aisle was 45 feet wide, it required two such to carry the architrave across with the usual intercolumniation of 15 feet; so much so, that I should have felt forced to supply them here, even if Josephus had not enumerated them.

There is only one other point in Josephus's description of the southern side of the Temple that remains to be noticed, which is, "that it had gates of its own in the middle."¹ A double gateway, and evidently of ancient masonry, does now exist on the spot, the centre of which is 365 feet from the south-western corner of the Temple: this, as may be supposed, has been a source of no small difficulty to those who extend the Temple along the whole south front of the Haram; for allowing every possible latitude to the expression used by Josephus, a gate could scarcely be said to be in the middle which had 600 feet on one side, and little more than 300 on

¹ Antiq. Book xv. chap. xi. 5.

the other. According to my view they were 365 from one angle, and 235 from the other, which accords well with the expression in the text, that they were towards or near the middle.¹ It is not difficult to see why they were not exactly in the centre; for, turning to the description of Josephus, we find that there were four gates² on the south, and four on the north side of the Inner Temple: had there been three or five, one might have been in the centre; but there being four, the architect had to choose between the one to the eastward and the one to the westward of the middle; and if any one will attempt to restore the Temple, he will see at once why he chose the former; and he will also find it difficult to restore this, which always must have been the principal entrance to the Inner Temple, many feet from the centre of the double gateway under the Akse. In the plan, Plate VI., they are made to coincide exactly, which I have no doubt they did.³

The gateway itself is double, and within it there is a vestibule 42 feet in width by about 52 in length; in the centre of which stands a noble monolithic column, 6 feet 6 inches in diameter,⁴ crowned by a capital of great beauty, represented in the annexed wood-cut,⁵ the age of which it is not difficult to determine; for it is almost impossible it should be so late as the time of Hadrian, nor could it have been executed more than a century or two before

¹ Antiq. loc. cit. πύλας κατὰ μέσον.

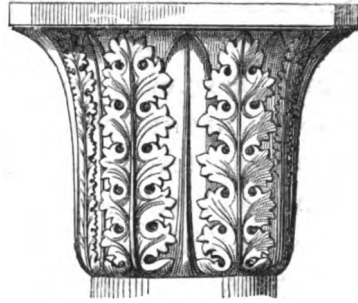
² Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. v. 2.

³ Long before I obtained Mr. Catherwood's measurements, I had made a restored plan of the Temple from Josephus's description alone; and it was with no small satisfaction that I found his measurement agree within a very few feet of the spot where I had placed the centre of the altar and of the water-gate, which must, I conceive, have always been coincident with the centre of this outer gate.

⁴ These dimensions and details are confirmed by the plates and text in the second Number of Traill's Josephus.

⁵ The capitals most resembling this one, among the specimens I am acquainted with, are those of the Tower of the Winds at Athens, which, in many respects, are very like this one: of the two, however, I prefer the Jewish example, as I think the alternation of eight acanthus with eight water leaves is more pleasing than the sixteen water leaves of the Athenian example, rising above eight stunted leaves of acanthus, which there seem very unmeaning, and might as well be left out, looking like an afterthought. Be this as it may, I have very little doubt but that they are nearly of the same age.

the Christian æra,—and it therefore must have belonged to the Temple of Herod; and the only question is,—Is it in situ; or only one of the pillars of the Temple used in this building at a later date? As far as I can judge from Mr. Tipping's views, which are the only means I have of forming an opinion, there is no doubt in my mind but that it is coeval with the roof it sup-



ports. There is a style and air of grandeur even about its small proportions, which at once negative the idea of its belonging to the age of either Justinian or Constantine; and though it would be difficult to prove that it could not possibly belong to that of Hadrian, it is, to say the least of it, extremely improbable, as there is no proof whatever that he built such an edifice here, and we know from Josephus that such a one did exist in his time. There is one other proof that it is in situ, which is, that it is situated about 42 feet from the outer wall, measuring to its centre; and as, if it belonged to the Temple, it certainly must have supported one of the columns of the porch above—which, from its dimensions, it was well fitted to do—it is not a little satisfactory to find it exactly in that position where, from Josephus and the argument derived from the bridge, we should expect to find it placed. The other peculiarities of this gateway will be better understood when speaking of the inner enclosure a little further on, and I merely allude to it here to complete Josephus's description of the southern portico.

So far, therefore, as Josephus's description of the southern portico of the Temple is concerned, it is borne out not only approximately, but in the minutest particulars, by the existing remains; and they are sufficient to account for every peculiarity he describes, excepting, of course, the height, which I do not allude to, as totally foreign to my present purpose. I feel no doubt in my own mind that every other particular would be as satisfactorily established if we had the same means of comparison: unfortunately, however, for the antiquary, there is, perhaps, no spot on earth that has been so completely subjected to the levelling process as this for so long

a period of years; and the rugged hill-top, that in the time of Solomon scarcely afforded level space enough for the erection of his Temple,¹ though it was not larger than an ordinary sized parish church, has now become a perfectly level area, more than 1500 feet in length and two-thirds of that in width: whatever projected above the surface (except one important rock) has been cut down, and ditches and valleys filled up; so that every natural and indeed ancient artificial feature has been obliterated by the labour of Jews, Christians, and Mahometans, steadily persevering in the task for a space of near 3000 years; and, unfortunately, we have hitherto been permitted to look below this artificial surface only at one corner—the south-eastern one; and though it has revealed to us a good deal, a look below the pavement to the westward of this would be far more interesting: till this is obtained, we have only Josephus and such traces as still exist above the surface to guide us in our further inquiries.

The eastern wall of the Temple has been traced by Mr. Catherwood in the vaults to an extent of nearly 200 feet or thereabout. The northern one, no one has seen, but there does still exist above the surface a wall running parallel to the southern wall, at the distance of just 600 feet, (it may be a few feet more or less, for I take my measurement from the small, not the large plan,) and extending to a distance of just 600 feet from the western wall of the Temple. It now supports the southern side of the platform on which the so-called mosque of Omar stands; but whether it is of ancient masonry or not, I cannot say, and no one seems to have observed: if it cannot therefore be quoted as positively proving the assertion of our author, it is, to say the very least of it, a most curious coincidence; such a one as, with the other circumstances I shall have to adduce hereafter, amounts to conviction in my mind that it does mark the northern boundary of the Temple area.

It only remains to trace the western wall, of which undoubted vestiges exist at the Jews' wailing-place,² and indeed all along up to

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. v. 1.

² See Bartlett's 'Views and Walks about Jerusalem,' p. 140.

the constant measure of 600 feet, where what is now used as a causeway, or probably was originally a wall, starts off at right angles, crossing the valley to the westward. By the Mahometans it is called David's Road to this day, and tradition says that under it there is a vaulted passage to the tower of David¹ on the western side of the city,—a tradition recently proved to be true by the discovery of a portion of it under the foundations of the English church now building.² My own belief is, that it is the foundation of the first wall of Josephus, where it crossed the valley of the Tyropœon to join the western cloister of the Temple,³ or the foundation of the *Turris Antonia*, perhaps both: whatever it may be, it is one of the most important points in the topography of Jerusalem, and has not yet been examined as it should be. When I verbally inquired of Mr. Catherwood what was its probable age, he answered emphatically, "Certainly old—as old as any thing in Jerusalem:" he probably would have been correct if he had said that it was older.

It is true this wall does not prove that the Temple area did not extend further north; but it is at least curious that it should cut the western wall of the Temple at exactly one stadium from the southern angle, and it supplies the only item wanted for the identification of every particular mentioned by Josephus.

With regard to the cloisters surrounding the three other sides of the Temple, they were evidently less magnificent than that on the south, and are dismissed by Josephus with the mere mention that they were double, and 45 feet in width;⁴ and though nothing on the spot remains to enable us to verify this assertion, I can believe it to be literally correct, because the porticos that surrounded the Temple of the Sun at Palmyra,—which was not far distant in space, nor probably in time from the erection of this one,—exactly correspond with this description: they are double, of the Corinthian order, and just 45 feet in width;⁵ and what is curious, the area within the colonnades is as near as possible a stadium, so that it

¹ 'Fundgruben des Orients,' vol. ii. p. 126.

² Bartlett's 'Walks,' p. 82.

³ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. iv. 2.

⁴ Ibid. Book v. chap. v. 2.

⁵ Wood and Dawkins, 'Palmyra,' Plate I.

is larger than its Jewish rival by the width of the cloisters, or about 90 feet each way, but was very inferior in all other points. I have little doubt but that the one was copied from the other, though the Palmyrene temple, at least as it now stands, is the more modern of the two.

As far as these outer courts are concerned we have no other authentic authority than Josephus, and fortunately he is more particular with regard to them than when speaking of the inner courts; while, on the other hand, the Talmud scarcely alludes to the outer court, and never mentions its porticos, but is far more minute than Josephus in describing the inner one. In almost every instance, however, they agree so nearly as to confirm each other to a very great extent, and at all events the two taken together throw so much additional light on the subject, that it would be absurd to attempt a restoration of the inner enclosure without referring to both. Before, however, quoting from the Talmud, it is necessary to say a few words on a difficulty that has recently been introduced into the subject by the dispute about the length of the Jewish cubit as used by the Talmudists; and unless we can ascertain what the length of that measure was, it is of course impossible to ascertain the size of any building expressed in cubits or parts of them.

It is, I believe, admitted by all, that the Jews had two measures so called: one, a hand breadth longer than the other; the shorter one being apparently the older, and the latter being introduced after the captivity; and the new Temple was ordered to be built in cubits of a cubit and a hand breadth.¹ As far as I understand the subject, all the Rabbis agree that the old cubit consisted of five palms or hand breadths of 3 inches each, or 15 inches; and the other consequently of 18 inches. I confess it appears to me extremely probable that the Jews, finding they had a measure different from all the rest of the world, should have adopted for particular purposes a cubit the same as that of the Greeks and Romans, which was undoubtedly of a foot and a half, or, as the cubit which is still universally used in the East,—the measure of a man's fore arm from the elbow to the point of the

¹ Ezekiel, xl. 5; xliii. 13.

middle finger,—or, as near as possible, 18 inches. Lightfoot,¹ and all those who follow the Rabbis, never seem to hesitate about the matter; and indeed I do not know of any written authority that could have unsettled the question, or given rise to the dispute; and I believe it has arisen in modern times only because certain measures of the new Temple have been asserted to be inexplicable, except in the assumption that the cubit was 21 inches at least; while others have been startled to find that the measures of Solomon's Temple, as given in the books of Kings and Chronicles, make up so small a building, and have been willing to help them out by this device, and have ended in convincing themselves that they were correct in what they had assumed. I do not pretend to have read all that has been written on this subject in modern times, but all I have read convinces me that the only arguments for the longer cubit are local difficulties about Jerusalem, founded, for the most part, it appears to me, on an imperfect knowledge of the place.

One of the greatest difficulties has always been the south wall of the Haram, which, being asserted to be undoubtedly the wall of the ancient Temple, has been measured over and over again, and found to be between 927 and 960 feet. Josephus says it was one stadium, or 400 cubits, but all, having agreed to reject his testimony as utterly untenable, have referred to the Talmud, where they found it specified at 500 cubits, or 750 feet, and, adding the hand breadth, 875; and assuming this to be the measure within the porticos, the matter has been explained.² I have shown above that Josephus was minutely correct, in this instance at least, and that difficulty therefore is removed. I need not, however, pursue the inquiry, as it is of very little importance to my present purpose, for I think there can be no doubt that Josephus uses the cubit of one and a half Greek feet; first, because there is no assignable reason why he should have used any other; and secondly, because he twice says that the sides of the Temple were 400 cubits, and three times that they were a

¹ Vol. i. p. 105, *et seq.*; ii. p. 21, 2, 3.

² D'Anville in Chateaubriand's 'Itinéraire,' chap. ii. p. 210, *et seq.* Dr. Robinson's 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. p. 430. Williams's 'Holy City,' p. 324.

stadium, or the same length of 600 feet;¹ and as the Talmud gives the same dimensions for the Inner Temple in almost every instance, there is no way of reconciling the two, except by assuming that they used measures of the same length. Thus both say the Chel was 10 cubits broad; the front of the Temple, 100; the naos, 40; the adytum, 20; and so on: and it appears to me that it would be very absurd to suppose, that according to one authority these dimensions were 15, 150, 60, and 30 feet, and according to the other, $17\frac{1}{2}$, 175, 70, and 35 feet. They are both speaking of the same places, and give the same dimensions; and if it could be proved that they did employ cubits of different lengths, it would then become a question of which to choose; and in the present instance, I would not hesitate one second in adhering to Josephus: but the truth appears to be, that the difficulty is purely gratuitous, and entirely of our own raising, and that there is no reason whatever to suppose that the two were not using a cubit of the same length, or at least so nearly so, that the difference was imperceptible in such lengths as they specify.

How then, it may be asked, are we to get over the rabbinical specification of 500 cubits for each side of the Temple?² The difficulty, it is true, is now the opposite way; for instead of wishing to extend the cubit so as to reach from angle to angle of the Haram, we must now try and contract it, to get the 500 within the Temple walls. Constantine l'Empereur and the Rabbis make no difficulties about it; the cubit, they say, was 15 inches; 500, therefore, were equal to 625 feet, which was the length of the Greek stadium.³

If this line of argument were tenable, it would no doubt be a very satisfactory solution of the problem, but I fear it is not; for I think it is evident that throughout the Middoth the large cubit is used for buildings, the small for vessels; and I feel convinced that, in describing the other buildings of the Temple, the larger one of 18 inches is used throughout; and there can be no reason why they should employ the one for the outer walls and the other for the inner. To me it appears more probable that the Rabbi Jehuda, in compiling

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 6, *et seq.*

² Mishna, vol. v. p. 334.

³ Mishna, *loc. cit.*

the Middoth, was misled by the specification in the vision of Ezekiel, where the extreme limits of the Temple are given at 500 cubits;¹ and as it is not to be supposed that the Rabbi ever measured, or perhaps ever saw the place himself, but merely was compiling it from the best authorities, he would of course adopt this as the sacred one, though probably in the Bible it was only meant as a visionary or prophetic one; and thus he was led to make a statement which is not supported by the facts of the case—an error which the local knowledge of Josephus prevented his falling into. But be this as it may, there can, I think, be no doubt, after what is said above, that each side of the Temple was about 600 feet in length; and if this, therefore, meant any thing else, we have only to reject it, as we do nine-tenths of what the Talmud contains, as a mistake, if not a wilful mis-statement.

There is only one other point of importance in which the Talmud differs essentially from Josephus, and that is with regard to the size of the court of the women. The Middoth specifies three courts: the first, towards the east, was that of the women, 135 cubits broad, and 135 long; the next, that of Israel, 11 cubits broad, and 135 in length; then that of the priests, of the same dimensions as that of Israel²—(the latter is an error of description, which is corrected further on); but the first point that strikes one is the immense size of the court of the women compared with that of the men; and making every allowance for the gallantry of the Jewish people, it must at all events be allowed to be extremely improbable, while, if we adopt the measures of Josephus, and the indications on the spot, it becomes impossible; for there is not room for such a court within the Temple area.

In this instance, as in the former, I believe the Rabbi to have been misled by misunderstanding the words of Ezekiel, to which he refers in the text.³ It is there said, that in each angle of the outer court there were smaller courts, each 40 cubits by 30 cubits; and these

¹ Ezekiel, xlii. 20. Our translation and the Vulgate make it 500 reeds or calami of 6 cubits each, but the Septuagint makes it more correctly 500 cubits.

² Mishna, v. 341.

³ Ibid. v. 335.

courts the Rabbi places within the court of the women, where four apartments, 40 cubits long, but of no great breadth, did exist, which he apparently has confounded with the other; and it is to make room for them that he has been forced to extend its limits so much.¹ It is evident, however, from an examination of the text, that these courts of Ezekiel were in the angles of the outer court,² and that two of them were to the westward of the northern gate of the inner enclosure. So that the Rabbi is here in as direct contradiction to the Bible as to Josephus. Indeed, the court of the women is never once mentioned in the Bible; and it is evident from the mention of only one eastern gate, leading to the outer court, by Ezekiel,³ that it did not then exist; and I am inclined to believe that it is purely a peculiarity of the temple of Herod.

Except on these two points, Josephus and the Talmud are singularly coincident in their description of the rest of the Temple. They both mention the ornamented barrier that separated the court of the Gentiles from that of the women, and the more sacred one of the Jews themselves. The Talmud makes it only ten hand breadths high,⁴ while Josephus, as usual, doubles this height,⁵ as he does almost every one throughout his book: neither authority mentions the distance between it and the porticos that surrounded it, Josephus only saying, that it was near to them.⁶ Beyond this, inwards, were twelve or fourteen steps, the Talmud says of half a cubit, or 9 inches each, and these led to the Chel, a plane space so called of 10 cubits wide, which surrounded the whole inner enclosure of the Temple. Beyond this were the gates, four on the north and four on the south, one of which, on each side, led into the court of the women, the other three into the principal court; and towards the east there were two more, but opposite one another, which

¹ In the copy of the Mishna I have used, the dimensions are given as "one hundred and 35 feet one way and 135 the other;" the hundred being written, the rest in figures, which looks very like as if it had been inserted afterwards, to explain the difficulty. Perhaps an examination of older MSS. might settle this point.

² Ezekiel, xlv. 19, &c.

³ Ezekiel, xl. 6; xlii. 15.

⁴ Mishna, v. 335.

⁵ Antiq. Book xv. chap. xi. 5.

⁶ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. v. 2.

were apparently the most ornamented of the whole, as leading into the court of the women, and thence to the front of the Temple.¹

According to Josephus, stairs 5 cubits in height led from the Chel to the inner court, or 10 steps according to the Talmud. But the court of the women was 5 steps or $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits lower, according to both authorities, as they say that 15 steps led from it to the court of Israel, and that the other steps or stairs were 5 steps shorter:² the internal area seems therefore to have been raised 25 steps or about $12\frac{1}{2}$ cubits above the outer court, but the Chel must have been lower in front of the court of the women than on the other three sides. This height of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, it must be confessed, is not exactly that specified by Josephus, who makes it 15, —viz. 40, which he makes the outward height of the walls, less 25, which was that inside;³ but the difference is not much, and may either arise from some confusion about the relative heights of the court of the women and the Chel, which is precisely the difference, or, that the steps were not exactly half a cubit, or 9 inches each, but between 10 and 11 inches, which is more in conformity with the practice of the ancients, who almost never used steps under 10 inches rise, and, in such a building as this, would more probably have made them 12 or 14 inches each.

With regard to the gateways, Josephus certainly exaggerates when he says that they were 30 cubits high and 20 broad;⁴ for there are no such gates in any building, ancient or modern, that I am aware of; and even our largest dock or canal locks can scarcely boast of such ponderous portals. At one time I was inclined to believe that 15 cubits meant the whole width, and that it was a mistranslation to assume that each leaf was that width, but I am now convinced that it is so written in the copies of Josephus I have consulted; and we must therefore refer to the more moderate

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. v.; Middoth, chap. ii. 2: where they agree exactly I do not refer specifically to both.

² Mishna, v. 135; Jewish Wars, v. v. 3.

³ Jewish Wars, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. v. 3; a measurement not in itself likely to gain much confidence when we consider that these doors, 30 cubits high, were in a wall which he had just told us was only 25 cubits in height.

Talmud, that makes them 10 cubits wide and 20 high, and states that they had double doors of two leaves each, two of which opened in the thickness of the walls, and two internally;¹ which is so coincident with the account of them during the siege that I have no hesitation in adopting it.² Josephus does not give the names of these gates, which, fortunately however, the Talmud has preserved; though I need not quote them here further than to mention that the third from the west, on the south side, was called the water-gate, the importance of which will afterwards appear; and that one of those on the north was called the prison-gate, because, say the Talmudists, through it Jeconiah was led to prison. I have not marked it on the plan, as I am not quite sure which of the three it was, but I believe it was the one nearest the west.

Within the gates, the Talmud gives the exact dimensions of the great court of the Temple as 187 cubits east and west, which space it again subdivides into 11 cubits for the court of Israel; 11 for that of the priests; then 32 cubits for the altar; 22 for the space to the holy house, which was 100 cubits in length; and then there were 11 cubits behind the house, which no one was permitted to enter. In this there is no discrepancy with Josephus, except as to the size of the altar, which he makes 50 cubits each way, and describes as a sort of pyramid rising by an insensible ascent to an altar on the summit. The Talmud, however, is so specific in its details that I would prefer following it: possibly they may describe the altar before and after it was rebuilt in the time of Herod, when its form might have been slightly altered: the difference, however, is not great, and I have in consequence restored it on the north, in accordance with the historian; on the south, according to the Talmud. In their descriptions of the holy house itself they agree in the minutest particulars, except that Josephus does not mention the

¹ Mishna, vol. v. p. 355; Middoth, chap. iv.

² Josephus says there were no gateways in the western wall of the inner enclosure, which is supposed to be contradicted by the Talmud; but this is, I am convinced, a misconception, as the two nameless doors of the Rabbis are, I think, unquestionably the two posterns of the outer enclosure leading to Parbar.

chambers behind the Holy of Holies, nor the impluvium that surrounded the after-part of the house, nor the wall beyond that; all which I have put in from the Talmud: but these are only omissions which often occur in Josephus, not contradictions, as they can easily be added to a plan restored from his text only. Josephus does not mention the dimensions of the court of the priests; but he says the holy house and altar were surrounded by a partition about one cubit in height, to keep the people off the priests: this evidently is the separation between the courts of Israel and of the priests as described in the Talmud, and there can be no doubt that it went round the two at a distance of 11 cubits or thereabout: the mention, however, of both the courts being 135 cubits in length, is one of the several instances that occur in the Talmud to prove that the author of the Middoth had no personal knowledge of the building he was describing, and that he was merely compiling an account from the best authorities; but, however trustworthy they may have been, nothing is more difficult than to compile a new account of a building from mere verbal description, and nothing more likely to lead to errors, and to just such errors as the Rabbi Jehuda has fallen into; whereas, though Josephus constantly exaggerates, and often omits details which would be to us of the utmost importance, from his personal knowledge of what he is writing about, he seldom contradicts himself, or states what is decidedly improbable.

I have not mentioned all nor nearly all the passages in Josephus and the Talmud that bear upon and bear out my restoration, though I have taken them into account in making it: the former authority is in every one's hands, and they can compare the plan with the text; but, as the latter is not so easily accessible, there is one more indication I must quote. In the Middoth,¹ it is said that the Temple, properly so called, which may mean either the inner enclosure containing the holy house and altar, or the enclosure cut off from the court of the Gentiles, (I believe it means the former,) was most distant from the southern wall of the outer Temple; nearer to the eastern, nearer still to the northern, and nearest of

¹ Middoth, chap. ii. Mishna, p. 334.

all to the western. From Josephus's description of the superior breadth of the southern, or Basilican stoa, to that of the north, it is self-evident that it could not have been otherwise than nearer the northern than the southern wall. This, moreover, is another proof that the area was not larger than I have made it; for, had it been 1000 or 1600 feet instead of 600, the irregularity would not have been tolerated, or, being only 60 feet, barely perceptible, and certainly not worth mentioning. The intervention of the court of the women, as I have restored it, makes it more distant from the eastern than either the northern or western sides; but I know no indication that would lead me to suppose it was nearer the west than the north; though I can easily understand that a person might so describe it, even if it were not literally the fact, from the close proximity of the holy house itself to that side. Perhaps the Chel and its steps were not carried round the western side; and as there were no doors there, they certainly appear useless: at one time I was in consequence inclined to omit them, but having no authority for this, I have let them remain; but it is one of the very few points on which I feel the very least hesitation, and could easily be remedied, if the indication in the Middoth is thought of sufficient importance to justify it.

Were I writing a monography of the Temple it would be easy to extend this description to any length; all, however, that I wish here to attempt, is to show what were the general arrangements of the building, and that it all comes in and fits to the space I have allotted to it. Were there any thing in the description of Josephus or the Talmud which manifestly required a larger space, I should, of course, hesitate about insisting on the correctness of the restoration; but the whole context of Josephus seems to demand that the space should not be one foot larger than that I have assigned to it; and except the court of the women, the Talmud bears out this to the fullest extent: and the more I think of it, the more useless and improbable does the squareness of that court appear to me; and no expression in the Bible, nor in the Wars of the Jews, nor indeed in any other part of the Talmud, would lead us to suspect the existence of a court of these dimensions, and that the

Inner Temple, instead of being nearly square, was in fact more than twice its breadth in length.

I shall not, therefore, say more in this place regarding the dimensions of the Temple itself, nor be tempted to digress into a description of its architecture; though I think I could point out some curious similarities between it and the Egyptian temples of the same age: but it remains, before leaving the subject, to point out some features which serve to fix it more particularly on the spot where I have placed it. The first of these is the double gateway, Khuldah or Huldah, the vestibule of which has been described above when speaking of the southern cloister that stood over it; and the question now arises,—is the part beyond the vestibule a part of the original structure, or an addition by the builders of the Aksa. Five minutes' inspection of the masonry would enable me to satisfy myself on this head: as it is, I have only Mr. Tipping's sketches to go by; and though it is dangerous to found a theory on such materials, I am inclined to think the whole of one age; and, assuming it to be so, we must first observe a peculiarity in its structure, which is, that from the vestibule the steps rise only in the left-hand passage; the right-hand one being closed by a wall, the foundations of which are of the same bevelled masonry as the other walls: while, on the other hand, the steps that lead to the upper court are in the right-hand passage, and the left is closed by a wall.¹ Now, in protracting these steps on my restored plan, I find that they come up exactly at the foot of the altar, if we adopt Josephus's inclined plane, though a little on one side; but they rise exactly by the side of the inclined plane of the Talmudists, and just at the distance that would bring them to the foot of the altar, were they extended so as to accommodate the additional height of the old inner area of the Temple: the steps, however, are probably modern, whatever the passage may be; so it would not do to insist on any too exact coincidence. This right-hand entrance, therefore, I take to be the priests' entrance,—that on the left, I believe, rose at once to the court of the Gentiles, and

¹ See Plate V.

so I have restored it; and I shall be surprised, if, on the left-hand wall, traces of steps are not found at a distance of about 80 or 100 feet from the outer wall. It will be observed that there is one round pillar beyond the vestibule,¹ as if there was there a landing and passage into the other gallery, just before the rising of the second flight of steps, in the position I have indicated.

Another curious peculiarity is the mention by the Talmud of a well in a chamber close to the water-gate of the inner enclosure, from which the whole court was supplied with water;² and from which the gate evidently took its name. In Mr. Catherwood's plan of the Mosque el Aksa³ there is a well, which, being protracted on the restored plan, falls in the centre of the chamber to the eastward of the gateway, which is exactly the position in which we should expect to find it from the description, and is one of the many instances which prove the general accuracy of the authorities from which we are quoting, when properly interpreted.

Another point is the wailing-place of the Jews, which, I am sorry to say, is not marked in my plans, but in all the other maps it is placed as nearly as possible 300 feet from the south-west angle;⁴ and which is consequently the nearest point to which they could possibly approach to the Holy of Holies of the ancient Temple; and as they have now wailed there for at least fifteen centuries, and began long before the Temple was so completely ruined as it now is, and when its features were probably partially visible, and would at all events have been handed down by a tolerably recent tradition, it is as strong an argument as can be derived, from evidence of this sort, of the correctness of the dimensions and

¹ In Mr. Tipping's plan, this round pillar is exactly 45 feet from the other, which is the dimension Josephus gives for the centre aisle; but as there is a discrepancy between Mr. Catherwood's plan and his on this point, I do not insist on it.

² Middoth, chap. v. 3.

³ See plan on Plate V.

⁴ "Not a hundred yards" is the expression of Bartlett, 'Walks about Jerusalem,' p. 140; but as the place is 50 or 100 feet N. and S., minute exactness is of little importance to the argument.

position assigned to the Temple from the other indications above given.

An attentive consideration of this restoration of the Temple will serve to explain what, to me at least, was a matter of great difficulty till I made it; which is, how the Jews were enabled to defend the Inner Temple so long after the tower of Antonia and the outer court were in the possession of the Romans. For, in the first place, it will be seen that the Inner Temple was a solid mass of earth or masonry, to a height of 20 or 25 feet, so that it was impossible to batter it with any of the engines used in ancient warfare; and in the next, the steps, and, above all, the Chel, form a vantage-ground to the defenders, in the language of modern fortification, a *fausse-braie*, of the most defensible kind, on which it was impossible for the Romans to form a lodgement,—it was so narrow, and commanded, as it was, by the wall of the inner court: and even if they had effected a lodgement there, still there was 10 feet of the solid mass, which they must in vain have attempted to destroy.

The gates, too, were double, and at the top of a flight of steps, where there was no standing place for the ordinary operations of attack; and, from being recessed in the wall, were well flanked: add to this the narrowness of the space between the walls of the inner and outer court, which prevented the Romans bringing any large body of men to the attack, while every foot of it was commanded by the Jews; and till they had broken down the northern wall, and raised a bank over the ditch of the Temple, which they did after they had possession of Antonia and the outer court, retreat must have been difficult and hazardous. Altogether, I do not know, in ancient times, of a more perfect specimen of military engineering than this,¹ and certainly not one that, with the engines of war used in those days, I should be more at a loss to know how to attack, even if I had ten men to bring against it to one of the defenders; and it seems thoroughly to have baffled Titus, till fire applied to the gates at

¹ Tacitus' description of it singularly confirms this view. "Templum in modum arcis propriæ muri labore et opere ante alios, ipsa porticus quæ templum ambiebatur egregium propugnaculum."

last opened a passage to the interior, and his infuriated soldiers were enabled to overpower the few defenders that remained, and unfortunately to destroy the whole Temple itself.

The whole of this mass of masonry and earth has now been removed ; and literally, of the Temple, properly so called, not one stone stands upon another—the whole has been reduced to the level of the court of the Gentiles. But the removal of one hundred thousand cubic yards of solid materials, which it contained, must have been a work of years, perhaps of centuries ; and the existence of such a mass, and its subsequent disappearance, are quite sufficient to account for the non-existence now of the ditch of Antonia, and the other irregularities of the ground, which, as described by Josephus, we know must have existed in those days. But it will also account for another thing, more important to our present purpose, which is the correct knowledge, that existed down to a very recent time, of the size and position of the Jewish Temple, and not only enabled the Jews to fix their wailing-place exactly where it should be, but enabled Julian to attempt its re-edification, and Justinian to avoid the accursed spot when he built his church in honour of the Virgin ; and which also enabled Omar to identify the spot at once, though he had never been there before, and Abd el Malik to build the Aksa within its precincts ; and lastly, which enabled the Crusaders, and all authors down to a very recent period, to fix and describe correctly the place and dimensions of this celebrated fane ;—all which I hope to make clear in the future chapters of this work, but in the meantime, I must leave the Temple for other buildings, if not as important to history or art as this, at least as much so to topography, which is the subject we are now more particularly engaged upon.

TOWER OF ANTONIA.

The next point in the topography of Jerusalem is to settle the position and form of the *Turris Antonia* : to me, I confess, it is the most puzzling of any, not that I in the smallest degree doubt the accuracy of Josephus regarding it, but because his description is not so full as to enable us to restore it from that alone ; and not one

vestige of masonry exists on the spot to assist our inquiries. Its ditches, wherever they were, are entirely filled up, and its walls levelled, so that we are left almost entirely to conjecture, and the weighing of probabilities, for fixing it. One or two points, however, are quite certain, that it was attached to the north-western angle of the Temple,¹ and that it did not cover the whole of the northern face. In the first of these points we have the direct authority of Josephus in describing the tower, and several incidental notices during the siege which render it quite certain: for the latter, we are left to occasional notices in the history of the siege, but these appear quite sufficient; for when Titus reviewed his army, the Jews "looked on from the old wall and north side of the Temple,"² and "John defended the city from the Tower Antonia and the northern wall of the Temple;"³ besides other circumstances which will occur to any one acquainted with the narrative.

With regard to its dimensions, we have only the assertion that the Temple, with it, was 6 stadia in circumference.⁴ We may either understand from this, that the Temple was 4 and Antonia 2 stadia in circumference, and the tower consequently 300 feet on each side; but if we measure it as a modern surveyor would, supposing it covered one-half or only 200 feet of the north face of the Temple, we must deduct that from the one and add it to the other, so as to make it not far from 500 feet on each of the remaining sides. If we understand this to apply to one building or tower, I feel certain it is quite inadmissible, because Josephus distinctly asserts that it had only four flanking towers, one at each angle.⁵ Now the least knowledge of ancient fortification will, I think, prove that such a building, so far from being a citadel, would be easily taken; for the strength of an ancient place consisted in the size and frequency of its flanking towers; and admitting these to have been as wide or even wider than the Hippicus itself—which Josephus thinks so wonderful—or say from 40 to 50 feet, the curtain between them could not have been

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. v. 8; *bis*, vi. chap. ii. 9; chap. iii. 1, &c.

² Ibid. Book v. chap. ix. 1.

³ Book v. chap. vii. 2.

⁴ Ibid. Book v. chap. v. 2.

⁵ Book v. chap. v. 8.

properly defended, as being more than 300 to 400 feet in extent. When I come to speak of the city walls, I will show that the towers there were only 150 feet distant from centre to centre, and it is absurd to suppose that this citadel would be weaker than the walls of the city. Besides this, Josephus states that there was an outer wall, though only 3 cubits high, and again, that the whole tower was built up solid to the height of 40 cubits (the towers were 50 cubits or 75 feet in height). He then proceeds to say, that it¹ contained courts and broad spaces for camps, &c. The only means that occur to me to reconcile the difficulties is to suppose that the tower itself was a keep of about 150 or 180 feet square, and, like one of our mediæval fortresses, was surrounded by an exterior vallum, enclosing an outer court. I have so restored it, and in a manner that I believe meets all the difficulties of the case. The steep rock on which it stood must have been the eastern side of the Tyropœon, and the valley or ditch that cut it off from Bezetha is now smoothed over by the pavement of the Haram. But even admitting this to be correct, the question still remains, as to what was the form and direction of this outer vallum.

If we knew where the pool Struthius² was, we might guess at one point at least; for it does appear here that there was a wall independent of the tower; for when the wall the Romans were battering fell down during the night, the Jews rejoiced that the "Tower Antonia itself was still standing;"³ and there still was apparently room to erect a wall between the outer one and the tower.

Perhaps the name of Acra, which is applied to this citadel by Josephus, may help us to an explanation of the difficulty. The hill of Acra, I think I shall be able to prove presently, is the one so marked in the map, Plate III.; and if that is the case, this citadel of Acra must have been some way joined to it; and I cannot by any ingenuity make Acra come nearer to the Temple than I have done: and if this is the case, it is evident that the outer vallum must have extended across the valley to join the old wall, which accounts at

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. v. 8.

² Book v. chap. xii. 4.

³ Ibid. Book vi. chap. i. 4.

once for the extent Josephus gives to it. This will be more apparent in the sequel, but in the mean-time I may observe that I identify the city of David with the citadel of the Maccabees, and these with this Antonia; and I think I shall be able to prove that they were one and the same place. Assuming this for the present, we have the authority of Josephus that "Antiochus built a citadel (*ἄκρα*) in the lower city; for the place was high, and overlooked the Temple;"¹ and a little further on, "this citadel adjoined to and overlooked the Temple,"² which is exactly the account of it we have in the Maccabees, where it is said, "Then builded they the city of David with a great and strong wall and mighty towers, and made it a stronghold for them, for a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary;"³ and again, "And they also that were in the city of David in Jerusalem, who had made themselves a tower, out of which they issued, and polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt in the holy place;"⁴ and in another place, "Moreover, the hill of the Temple that was by the tower he made much stronger than it was, and there he dwelt with all his company."⁵

The identification of this citadel with the city of David, and particularly the last expression, which would seem to indicate that there were fortifications besides the tower, appears to me very important, for, as I think it will afterwards become evident, the city of David was an adjunct to the old city of the Jebusites, serving to connect it with the Temple hill, and must have extended across this valley, just as I have indicated the walls of Antonia; and its name, Acra, and the assertion of Josephus that it was built "in the lower city," which is the name he gives repeatedly to Acra, all seem to me to indicate an extension in this direction; and I know of nothing that at all contradicts this view of the matter: but, as I said before, it is one of the most difficult points in the whole topography of Jerusalem, though I hope, before leaving the subject, to make it more clear than I have done here, when and in what manner it was built. For the present,

¹ Antiq. Book XII. chap. v. 4.

² Antiq. Book XII. chap. ix. 3.

³ 1 Maccabees, i. 33, 36.

⁴ 1 Maccabees, xiv. 36.

⁵ 1 Maccabees, xiii. 52.

it is sufficient to indicate whereabouts it was, that we may be enabled to proceed to the description of the walls of the city itself.

THE WALLS.

For a description of the walls of Jerusalem in the first century of the Christian era, we are almost entirely dependent on the 4th chapter of the 5th Book of Josephus's 'Wars of the Jews,' and such incidental notices as can be gathered from the various circumstances of the siege in subsequent parts of the narrative: these, however, with the existing remains and local features, will, I believe, be found quite sufficient to restore the walls as nearly as can be required for any purpose of historical research; though, hitherto, it must be confessed, the task has not been satisfactorily accomplished.

The two points on the correct fixation of which the whole controversy must rest, are, in the first place, the direction of the "valley of the cheesemakers," or the Tyropœon, and then the position of the tower of Hippicus, which Josephus makes his starting point in his description of the first and third walls. With regard to the former, all are agreed as to its direction from the Pool of Siloam up to the causeway that crosses it at the north-western angle of the Temple: here, however, it divides or forks into two branches, one of which takes a westerly direction towards the Jaffa gate, the other a northerly one towards the Damascus gate. The former was assumed by Dr. Robinson to be the true Tyropœon, and he did not observe the other: Mr. Williams, on the contrary, seized on the northerly one as most suitable to his views, and could not, in spite of all his endeavours, see the other; circumstances which gave rise to a mutual interchange of that pungent class of compliments which clergymen are, or think themselves, privileged to indulge in. There is, however, I think, no doubt but that Dr. Robinson is right in this matter, though he entirely overlooks and destroys what appears to me the essential point of the argument, which is, that there was no wall along either brow of this valley; but it was an open depression in the middle of the city "at which the corresponding rows

of houses on both hills ended;"¹ an expression so clear that it would, to my mind, be sufficient to settle the question, even if it were not clear from the context that the two hills, which, according to Josephus, sustained the upper and lower cities, or what he more particularly calls the upper market-place, and Acra, were included in the first wall, which, it appears to me, he most distinctly asserts they were.² Besides, from Josephus's description of the old wall, it is clear it stood on the brink of a valley all round, from which circumstance it derived its principal strength; and the valley on the north and east, which Mr. Williams calls the Tyropœon, is absolutely necessary to complete this description. This is the valley which the Asamoneans filled up when they wished to join the Temple hill to the city. Without the two valleys, the description of the city is quite unintelligible,—with them, the whole becomes clear; and it is now evident what Josephus meant when he said that the hill that sustained the upper city was in length more direct, and the other, which sustained Acra, was shaped like the moon when she is horned; for a glance at the plan will show that this is exactly the case. The third hill was that on the southern extremity of which the Temple stood; the fourth, Bezetha, was a well-defined hill on the north-east. On this I need not enlarge more here, as an inspection of the map, with the chapter of Josephus before one, will render it more evident than any description I can give.

If, however, it should eventually be proved that Mr. Williams is right, and Dr. Robinson wrong in this respect, and that there neither is nor ever was a valley running westward to the Jaffa gate, and only this one trending to the northward, the fact would not alter the position of the walls, as I have drawn them, one iota; for Acra would then be the space between the two walls,—the upper city would still be in length more direct—the other, horned like the moon. In every respect it would tell more in favour of my argument and against Mr. Williams's, and I would gladly adopt it, were it not that it appears to me distinctly to contradict the description of Josephus; for then there would be a wall along one

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. iv. 1.

² Jewish Wars, *loc. cit.*

brow at least, and the ends of the rows of houses could not be seen : besides, I think we have distinct mention of two valleys, and these are the only ones that any one has detected in the city.

Notwithstanding all this discrepancy of opinion regarding the Tyropœon, in which some are right and others wrong, all have agreed to fix on the tower in the citadel, now called the tower of David, as the Hippius; in which I think a little consideration will show that they are all mistaken. That it is one of the three towers which Titus ordered to be spared when the rest of the walls were overthrown,¹ is, I think, almost certain; but its dimensions alone are sufficient to prove that it is not the Hippius, for Josephus says, that the length and breadth of that tower are each 25 cubits, or $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet; while Dr. Robinson's very exact measurements make this one 56' 4" on its eastern side, and 70' 3" on its southern one;² which, bearing in mind that Josephus never diminishes but always exaggerates, is almost conclusive: one of the other towers, however, the Phasaëlus, was 40 cubits or 60 feet square at the base;³ and if from Dr. Robinson's measurements we deduct the thickness of the walls attached to its northern and southern sides, say 10 or 14 feet, we have a tower so nearly of the dimensions given by Josephus, that, allowing him to have exaggerated only 2 cubits in 40, it exactly corresponds; and the first presumption therefore is that this tower is the Phasaëlus, and not the Hippius.

A much stronger argument, however, is derived from its position, for it is situated to the southward of the Tyropœon; and unless the first wall ran along the southern brow of that valley, which it did not, it could not have been a corner tower, as the wall must have proceeded northward from it to turn the head of the valley; and the third wall, if starting from the same place, must have lapped over and run parallel to it for some distance, which is, to say the least of it, most improbable, if not impossible. To satisfy all the exigencies of the description, I think it can scarcely be doubted that the Hippius stood considerably to the northward of this,

¹ Jewish Wars, Book vii. chap. i. 1.

² 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. p. 436.

³ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. iv. 3.

and the only question is where. Perhaps a more attentive search than has yet been made, may enable us to answer this question satisfactorily: in the mean-time, I assume that the fragment of an ancient tower, consisting of at least "three courses of large bevelled stones,"¹ at the north-west corner of the present city wall, is in reality the foundation of the Hippicus;² at least I am certain that it is the spot which most nearly answers the description of Josephus—of a corner tower from which he could begin the description of the walls. If any one likes to contend it must have been somewhat further south, between the tower of David and this spot, he is welcome to his theory; but considerations of population and other incidental circumstances would induce me, on the contrary, to carry it still further north, if there were any remains to justify such an assumption.

Assuming, for the present at least, that this was the Hippicus, it is not difficult to trace the wall eastward till, joining the Xystus, it passes the valley, along what is now called the Causeway, and joins the western cloister of the Temple. "Returning to the same place, it passed through Bethso to a gate called the gate of the Essenes, and which would, on this theory, exactly answer to the Jaffa gate; then went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends again towards the east at Solomon's Pool, and reached as far as a certain place called Ophlas, where it joined the eastern cloister of the Temple." This description answers in almost the minutest particular to the course of the present wall, with the slight southern extension, which is justified both by remains and the probabilities of the case; the only point which is not recognizable being Solomon's Pool. When I come, however, to speak of the waters of Jerusalem, I think I shall be able to show that it is probable that a portion, at least, of the waters of Siloam originally flowed down the valley between the upper city and

¹ 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. p. 471.

² The tower is now known under the name of Kasr Dschalud (Goliath's Castle), and was first apparently remarked by Schultz, ('Jerusalem,' p. 95,) and more particularly described by Krafft, who takes it to be Psephinus in his most untenable theory of the walls of Jerusalem.—'Die Topographie Jerusalems,' p. 37, *et seq.*

the Temple, and were afterwards diverted through the Temple area to the Fountain of the Virgin, and through the tunnel back to Siloam. It is therefore more than probable that they may have been dammed up here to form such a reservoir as is mentioned; and some three centuries later, the Bourdeaux Pilgrim¹ mentions a pool in this valley which would correspond with this; for Josephus does not mention whether it was inside the wall or outside, and either supposition would answer here.

Both Dr. Robinson and Mr. Williams bring this wall down the brow of Sion, so as to enclose or pass near the Pool of Siloam, and so up the brow of the hill of Ophel or Ophlas, south of the Temple; but I think without any warrant that I can see, either from remains or from the above quoted description of Josephus; for, according to this view, from Siloam it runs due north, not east, to the Temple area: but besides, had it come down here, it must have stood on the level of the plain, which is in direct contradiction to Josephus's assertion that "there were three walls, except where it was encompassed by impassable valleys;"² and, had it done so, this must have been by far the most vulnerable part of the city,—yet at no time of the siege is there a hint of an attack, or even a feint, against the wall here, which could not have been overlooked, had so tempting a locality offered for distracting the attention of the besieged, and gaining access at once to the Temple and the heart of the city. Dr. Robinson assumes that they would not have left so important a fountain as Siloam outside the walls. We know, however, it is only the outflow of waters that have passed through the city and Temple; and they could not prevent what they could not use from escaping somewhere; but, besides, Josephus distinctly asserts that Siloam was outside the walls, and in the possession of the Romans at the time of the siege;³ and it is but little use adding probabilities to so distinct a testimony.

Before leaving the first wall, it may be as well to attempt to fix

¹ 'Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum,' p. 589. "Sunt in Hierusalem piscinæ magnæ duæ ad latus templi, id est, una ad dextram alia ad sinistram, quas Solomon fecit."

² Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. iv. 1.

³ Ibid. Book v. chap. x. 4.

the position of the third tower mentioned by him, the Mariamne; for though the data are scarcely sufficient to do this definitely, I think the probabilities are at least strongly in favour of the position I have assigned to it in the map, which goes as far as can be to reconcile the somewhat conflicting statements of our author regarding these towers; for he makes three assertions regarding them which I am convinced cannot be literally explained by the circumstances of the ground: the first is, that they were on the north side of the wall; the second, that they stood on an elevated hill, 30 cubits in height;¹ and the last, that Titus left these three towers, and so much of the *west* wall as was required, to form a camp for the 10th legion, which was left in garrison.

It is the implied necessity of meeting the second assertion that has apparently induced most topographers to make the first wall run along the southern brow of the Tyropœon, and place the three towers in it. But we have seen above that there was no wall in this place; and besides, the appearances of the ground, at the present day, so far from warranting the supposition of the Tyropœon being a valley, as deep as that outside the Jaffa gate, which the second assertion would require, distinctly contradict it; nor is there any valley or depression near the one tower remaining that would at all justify this expression, except the valley of Hinnom, which runs north and south, outside the Jaffa gate: besides this, the one tower now remaining has its north and south sides longer than the others; and the presumption therefore is, that the wall was joined to them—(I wish some traveller would open his eyes and observe this),—and from its locality, I think it almost certain that it must have stood in a wall running north and south, and consequently been on the west side of the wall, not the north: at the same time it stands on an eminence of 44 feet, according to Dr. Robinson's measurement,² which almost exactly reproduces Josephus's 30 cubits; and so does the Hippicus, according to the position I have placed it in; and if the Mariamne were between the two, it would meet two of the indications enumerated above, but the third would be altogether inexplicable. But, placing it where I have, two of the towers

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. iv. 4.

² 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. p. 403.

are on the north, two on the west, and two on the eminence, which at least allows a majority, in all cases, in favour of Josephus; and if we assume that he was speaking from recollection, without a plan, it appears to me very probable, that remembering the towering elevation of the Phasaëlus and Hippicus, as seen from the valley, he should make the assertion in the text, without thinking of the third; and also, as the palace of Herod was probably placed where I have marked it, Josephus, wishing to point out its locality,—for he has left off speaking of the towers, and is speaking of the palace,—should mention the two on the north of the wall, without thinking of the third. These positions of the towers will also explain why Titus left them to cover the encampment of the 10th legion; for had they been placed in a straight wall, as is usually done, they would have been but a very sorry cover, as an enemy might have chosen either side; but placed as I have placed them, the three, with the intervening walls, would, with a slight additional fortification towards the city, become a very tolerable citadel for the encampment of a legion, and fitted to command and overawe the conquered city.

In attempting to describe the course of the second wall, a good deal depends on the position of the gate of Gennath, which, from the imperfect data at command, must always, I fear, be more or less a matter of conjecture. But about 200 yards to the eastward of the tower of Hippicus, as I have placed it, there is a singular break or return in the present wall, which answers so completely to my idea of the position in which the gate should be found, from Josephus's description, that, till some better position is discovered, I will assume it to be the place in question.¹ Whether the wall from this spot followed the course of the present one or not, is a question of no great importance; but as it is always safer to follow the existing wall, than to attempt any new theory when there are no distinct data in the description, and no remains on either hand to guide us, I prefer assuming that it did; and proceeding along it for about 400 yards, we come to the Damascus gate, where there are some old remains, first pointed out by Dr. Robinson,² and admitted to be part of this

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. iv. 2.

² 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. 463.

wall by Mr. Williams;¹ and which, therefore, so far tend to confirm this view that the present wall stands in the same position as the old one, and certainly mark its locality here.² This point is scarcely 500 yards distant from the north-west corner of the Haram, where we again meet with its remains; for all along the western wall of the enclosure are found remains of ancient masonry,³ which, as I have shown above, could not have been remains of the Temple wall, and must, consequently, be those of this wall on its way to join the tower Antonia,—at least I cannot conceive what else they can be; and the scarping⁴ of the rock at the north-west angle (if it is an ancient work) thus also becomes intelligible; for it is outside this wall, and it added to its height; but being inside the Haram area, and towards it, on the supposition that this was either an angle of the Temple, or the position of the tower Antonia, such a work would tend to weaken rather than strengthen their defences.

The course of the wall, between these two points, cannot have been far from that which I have drawn, which tallies completely with several incidental notices in the course of the siege, such as the destruction of the northern part by Titus, while he put garrisons in the towers of the southern parts of this wall,⁵ and the general description of it, that it went round and enclosed the northern part of the city: it is, however, the least important of all the walls, and if I am correct in regard to the other two, its possible deviations are confined within such narrow limits that more need not be said of it here.

The description of the third wall is more distinct than that of either of the others, and easily traced with sufficient distinctness for our purpose: "it began at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus; and then was so far extended till it came over against the monu-

¹ 'Holy City,' p. 285.

² An excellent view of these remains, by Mr. Tipping, will be found in Traill's Josephus, which fully confirms the assumption in the text.

³ 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. p. 423; Catherwood, in Bartlett's 'Walks,' p. 161.

⁴ Bartlett's 'Walks,' p. 162; 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. pp. 361 and 419, &c.; 'Holy City,' pp. 319, 328, *et passim*.

⁵ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. vii. 2.

ments of Helena, Queen of Adiabene. It then extended further to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings; bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monument which is called the monument of the Fuller, and joined to the old wall at the valley, called the valley of Cedron."¹ The only one of these localities which is perfectly ascertained, is that of the royal sepulchral caverns, about which there can be no doubt; but the length of the wall is easily ascertained, and consequently its form, from the assertion in a subsequent passage, that the whole circumference of the city was 33 stadia;² and as its limits on the southern side are perfectly well defined by the form of the valleys, it is here only that any extension or variation is possible; but here also the nature of the ground points out within very narrow limits the course it must have taken.

The most important assertion, however, in the above description, is the last, which has hitherto proved an inexplicable stumbling-block to topographers; for, if the eastern wall of the Haram was the wall of the Temple, it is plain this last wall would have been said to have joined the northern or eastern cloister of the Temple—not the old or first wall. According to the view I take of the Temple area, it is literally correct, and the facts could not be expressed more clearly; and the description of the parts of this wall, in the same passage, fully account for the size of the stones observed at the south-east angle, and along the eastern side of the Temple; for though Agrippa did not finish it with the stones 20 cubits in length, and 10 in breadth, the Jews shortly after did complete it; and, from all we know of all their masonry at this period, there is no reason to suppose that they would use stones smaller than those found in these localities, or that Agrippa should have used such enormous stones, unless it was the usual mode of building at that period: but altogether, whether Josephus carefully discriminated between what Agrippa left unfinished and the Jews completed, or whether what he says applies to the wall as it stood, which is more probable, his description is such as to lead us to expect larger stones

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. iv. 2.

² Ibid. Book v. chap. iv. 3.

in this wall, and better masonry, than we find. So that the largeness of the stones at the angle is no argument in favour of the Temple extending to that spot, but, on the contrary, a confirmation that Josephus's description of the extension of the third wall to the meeting of the old one is literally correct.

There still remains to be noticed, in completing the description of the walls, a singular inadvertence on the part of Josephus in omitting all mention of a portion of the first or ancient wall, which ran along the western brow of the Tyropœon, from the Xystus to some place above the Pool of Siloam. From the description of the last operations of the siege,¹ there can be no doubt whatever of its existence; and its being there is of the utmost importance to the understanding of the more ancient topography of the city. Though I do not think it is difficult to see how Josephus came to overlook it in his description of the walls, yet I cannot perhaps make this quite clear to others, till I have explained the topography of the book of Nehemiah, when I think I shall be able to show that this wall enclosed the ancient city of the Jebusites, and that the second wall, which was built by the Jews, began at this spot above Siloam, and enclosed the Temple area, and consequently was virtually the second wall; but Josephus, having inadvertently continued his description of the first, as if this part of the second belonged to it, had not an opportunity of afterwards rectifying his mistake: this, however, will be more plain afterwards, and I merely allude to it now *en passant*.

There is only one other point of importance to be noticed before leaving the walls, and that is the number of towers in them; for, according to our authority, the old wall had sixty,—the middle wall, forty,—and the new or outer wall, ninety towers;² and Josephus, with his usual tendency to exaggeration, states that the spaces between these were 200 cubits, making the length of the third wall alone 45 stadia, while in the next line he states that the whole circumference of the city was 33 stadia. It is quite amusing to observe how often Josephus is guilty of this absurd tendency to magnify all that concerns his native city; and, at the same time, how innocently

¹ Jewish Wars, Book vi. chap. viii. 1.

² Ibid. Book v. chap. iv. 3.

or how cunningly he backs out of it, and tells the truth again. But to return to the towers: taking 150 feet in the compasses, which, from the examination of other city walls, is a very probable distance, the outer wall divides itself into just 90 spaces, and so do the towers of the first or old wall, within a foot or two, whether we take it as Josephus describes it, from the south-east angle of the Temple round to its north-western one, or whether we continue it along the western brow of the Tyropœon, to form a circle round the old city. But the middle wall is so incommensurate with these, that either there must be some mistake in the number of towers, or in the description of the wall; for the towers in it would scarcely be 100 feet apart from centre to centre, which, I think, is almost quite inadmissible: but if we assume the second wall to extend from the gate of Gennath round the Temple, till it joins the old wall above Siloam, the same distance between the towers tallies exactly with the length of the wall; and as Josephus was probably speaking from some memorandum he had of the towers in each wall, but writing from memory without any plan before him, it is easy to see how he fell into the inadvertence: but these very mistakes, showing an absence of design to deceive, tend to confirm me very much in my view of the matter as the correct one.

This is further confirmed by the fact that the whole length of all the walls added together was about 47 stadia, which, divided by the number of towers (190), would give very nearly this distance of 150 feet from the centre of one to that of the next; which is satisfactory, as a proof of the correctness of Josephus's data, and also of the view I have taken of the second wall, the importance of which will appear in the sequel.

The distance of 33 stadia, which Josephus gives for the whole circumference of the city, besides being as nearly as possible that which we obtain from the description and the configuration of the ground, is further confirmed by the mention of the length of the wall of circumvallation erected by Titus, which Josephus says was 39 stadia in length;¹ and following his description with a pair of compasses

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. xiii. 4.

on the map, it comes out almost exactly as he describes it. This does not, it is true, give the exact measure of the city wall, which may have been nearer or more distant from it, according to the locality, than my plan would show; but it limits these deviations within certain bounds, and gives great confidence in his measurements, when we find that a line passing through the spots he mentions, and just such a line as one would draw now from a knowledge of the localities, measures exactly the 39 stadia which he specifies.

It will be observed that in the above reasoning, with regard to the position of the walls, I have made no allusion whatever to the relative heights of the different hills in Jerusalem, which are sometimes alluded to by Josephus, and have been made use of by modern topographers to complicate the subject to no small extent. I have, however, purposely omitted doing so, for several reasons: first, because I have no very great confidence in the levels adduced by modern topographers, knowing well from experience how easily one is misled on such a subject, without the most careful practical levelling by an experienced hand, and with trustworthy instruments—more especially if the operation is carried on in a town; and secondly, because even supposing this done in modern times, it is quite certain it was not done by Josephus; and thirdly, because even supposing it to have been done carefully in both ancient and modern times, it is by no means clear how far such levels would be applicable to the present appearance of the ground, and consequently how far any argument derived from them should be employed to settle any disputed point; for there is nothing in an ancient city so liable to change as its vertical heights, even when its horizontal dimensions remain perfectly unaltered: rubbish on the one hand, and quarrying or abrasion on the other, will do wonders, while a bearing north, south, east, or west, will remain unchanged to the end of time.

In this way, speaking of the relative height of Acra and the Temple, supposing Josephus to have said that the former was higher than the latter, or *vice versâ*, we may either understand this to refer to the court of the Gentiles or the inner court, which was 20 feet higher, or the Temple itself; or we may assume that the accumu-

lation of the rubbish of eighteen centuries has raised Acra, while the remains of the walls show what was the height of the Temple. In the same way, if Josephus says that the upper market-place was higher than Acra, it may or may not be so; but it certainly will always appear so to the naked eye, without accurate levelling, because on three sides it is surrounded by deep valleys, and the northern hill by shallow ones, and on one side fades into a plain; the one, in fact, being a steep hill, the other a table-land,—and the one will always consequently appear higher than the other: or, it may be contended that Josephus went to a certain height on the Mount of Olives, and, carrying his eye carefully from right to left along the horizon line, did ascertain which was actually the highest of the two: but, till we know more of these points and processes than we do now, it appears extremely dangerous to found any argument upon them; for I think that with a little ingenuity it would be easy to prove any thing that suited any one's views, and I have therefore left them entirely out of the argument, though I may state that they appear to me in almost every instance to confirm the view I have taken of the matter, and certainly in no instance to contradict it; but the horizontal indications appear so much more conclusive, that I prefer resting the argument on them only.

POPULATION OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM.

There is one other point most essential to the correct understanding of the topography of Jerusalem, which has been strangely overlooked by those who have hitherto written on the subject,—what is the amount of the population contained within the walls. Chateaubriand,¹ Mr. Williams,² and others of the credulous school, adopt Josephus's enumeration of the people without inquiry, and then coolly proceed to accommodate a population larger than that

¹ *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, tom. ii. p. 210.

² Mr. Williams does not draw the first wall on his plan: if he did, he would find his two millions, in the second stage of the siege, compressed into a triangular space of 600 yards on two sides and 800 on the third; within which not one-half of them could stand, even if cleared of houses, much less lie down!

of London in a space which, in no other city of the world, could accommodate 20,000 or 30,000 souls; and this without appealing to one of their favourite miracles to help them.

If we were to trust Josephus in this particular, he would have us believe that Jerusalem contained at one time, or could contain, two millions and a half, or three millions of souls;¹ and that at the siege under Titus 1,100,000 perished by famine and the sword; 97,000 were taken captive; 40,000 allowed by Titus to go free, &c. &c.² Indeed there is no point on which he seems to have considered himself safer to exaggerate than on this: no one had counted the people when they were alive, and no one could count them now they were dead or dispersed; and he consequently seems on all occasions to have given free play to his imagination in speaking of the numbers of his countrymen, and we may, on most occasions, cut off the last cipher, or divide his numbers by 10, to estimate the population he is speaking of; but even then, I believe, we shall generally be beyond the mark.

There is, however, in Tacitus an assertion not so easily got rid of, on account of the greater credibility of the author; but he must have been misled either by Josephus, or some other authority, for I think it is easy to prove that there could not have been 600,000 persons³ in Jerusalem at the time of the siege, nor indeed one-tenth of even that estimate: there are several incidental circumstances which, I think, will make this tolerably clear, and may even be considered as amounting to positive proof that such was the case.

In the first place, the army which Titus brought against the city consisted of four legions, a draft of 2000 men from the garrison of Alexandria, and a body of auxiliaries, altogether about 25,000 or 30,000 men.⁴ On the other hand, we have in Josephus an enu-

¹ Jewish Wars, Book II. chap. xiv. 3; VI. chap. ix. 3.

² Ibid. Book VI. chap. ix. 3.

³ "Multitudinem obsessorum omnis ætatis virile ac muliebre secus sexcenta millia fuisse accipimus arma cunctis qui ferre possent, et plures quàm pro numero audebant: obstinatio viris feminisque par; ac si transferre sedes cogerentur, major vitæ metus quàm mortis."—Tacitus, Hist. lib. v. c. xii. et xiii.

⁴ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. ii. 6; Tacitus, Hist. lib. v. c. i.

meration of the fighting men contained in the city, amounting to 23,400,¹ which would give a population of something under 100,000 souls; for it is quite evident that every man who could bear arms would have fought in so mighty a struggle, when their only hope of salvation for themselves and their nation depended on their exertions; and if unsuccessful, famine and destruction was their only lot.² But even this I believe to be an exaggeration; for had they really possessed that number of men capable of bearing arms, it is evident that Titus would have required a much larger army before attempting the siege of a place so strongly fortified. In modern times he would have required four or five times as many men as the city contained; and though it is not easy to give a decided opinion on the tactics of those days, I think the General would have been rash in the extreme, who should have attempted to besiege such a city without being able to command at least twice the number of men, fit for duty, that the city contained: and indeed the whole narrative of the siege proves this, for the Jews wanted neither activity nor courage nor skill, and in many instances they beat back and worsted the Romans, but never had sufficient numbers to follow up their success, or take advantage of it; and in all the sallies and fighting during the siege, it cannot be discovered that, at any time, the Jews could bring into the field 10,000 men, if so many; and except in the first great sally, when the Jews poured out their whole forces to surprise and overpower the 10th legion on the Mount of Olives,³ the whole of the combats recorded by Josephus are merely skirmishes, in which one or two hundred men took part—often only ten or a dozen; and it is wonderful how much even one or two men on either side, especially that of the Romans, did occasionally effect against the immense masses of men that are usually supposed to have been brought against them.

Had the Jews at any time been able to bring together a body of 10,000 men, Titus never would have dared to encamp one-third of his small army on the Mount of Olives, and the remaining two-thirds

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. vi. 1.

² See note 3, preceding page.

³ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. ii. 4 and 5.

opposite the Psephinus and Hippicus, where it was impossible the one division could succour the other, if either were attacked by a superior force. The Jews were not long in discovering the weakness of this disposition of the Romans, and they attacked the lesser division, and threw them into disorder,—in fact, routed them; but in this, as in every other instance throughout the war, they had not sufficient numbers to follow up their success, and the routed Romans were enabled to re-organize themselves, and ultimately to beat back the Jews.¹ I have studied the incidents of the siege with some attention, and, to my mind, nothing appears more clear than that the Jews were borne down and overpowered by the number of their assailants, which even the strength of their triple walls did not enable them to resist; and that, in every instance, the Romans could bring to any point a greater number of combatants than the besieged could throw upon it; and to do this, it is evident that the investing army must have been double or treble the number of that invested, who, acting from a central point, well fortified, could throw their whole strength on any given point at any one time. This is more particularly evident in the latter part of the siege, when Titus enclosed the city with a wall of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles in extent, which, with his small army, was so weak a disposition, that a small body of Jews could easily have broken through it; but they never seem to have had numbers sufficient to be able to attempt it.

Were I, from the incidents of the siege, to attempt to guess at the population of Jerusalem, I should be inclined to say that, at the commencement, the Jews might have mustered about 10,000 fighting men, and the city consequently may have contained altogether about 40,000 inhabitants: of course I can scarcely expect any one to accept, at first sight, an estimate so totally at variance with all received opinion; but there is another mode of estimating the population, that will render it at least probable, which is by ascertaining the number of square yards the city covered, and from this, the number of inhabitants it could, or probably did, contain.

Were statistical science a little more advanced, this would be no

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. ii. 4; v. chap. vi. 4, 5, *et passim*.

very difficult task ; but unfortunately in the East it is still quite in its infancy, and even in Europe the materials have not been collected for ascertaining the point with any thing like certainty. The reports of our Registrar-General do, however, throw some light on the subject, though they have neither been abstracted nor tabulated in a form fit for reference, and I certainly am not going to attempt the task here. From these it appears, that if the number of square yards which the city of London covers is divided by the number of its inhabitants, it will be found that each individual occupies 118 square yards, on the average of the whole city ; which again is subdivided into thirty districts, ten of the most crowded of which afford only 36 yards to each individual ; ten medium districts, 104 ; and the ten least crowded, 202 square yards to each inhabitant.¹ Among these, the city of London, properly so called, affords only 30 square yards to each person. From the same authority we learn that Birmingham allows 94 ; and Bristol and Manchester even a greater space to each individual of their population ; but there is great uncertainty in these estimates, as large open spaces are included sometimes within the districts quoted. Liverpool, however, figures as about the most crowded city in the empire, allowing only 34 yards to each person.² Hamburgh, which is a walled city, and one of the most densely populated I know, gives an area within the walls of 3,275,000 yards to a population of 120,000 souls, and consequently about 27 yards to each.

These, it may be objected, are European cities, and therefore not directly bearing on the case in point : nothing, however, appears to me, from my knowledge of both, more clear than that European towns, with their tall houses, standing in rows close to one another, are always more densely populated, according to their area, than Eastern ones. Unfortunately we have here very little data to go upon, as few cities in the East have been correctly surveyed, and of fewer still does any thing like a correct census exist. Calcutta,

¹ *Vide Reports passim*, and Speech of Lord Morpeth in introducing the Health of Towns Bill, where he quotes the figures above cited. See also Report, 1840, p. 84.

² Report for 1842, p. 16.

according to the best information I could obtain,—omitting the esplanade and all large open spaces,—still allows 70 yards at least to each inhabitant; and Benares, the most densely populated city in India, owing to the inhabitants being crowded into the limits of the sacred enclosure, according to Mr. Prinsep's survey and estimate of the population, gives about 40 or 45 square yards to each person. To come, however, nearer to the place we are now speaking of, Cairo, according to the French survey, covers about 9,600,000 square yards,¹ while all travellers, from Volney to Wilkinson, agree in estimating its population at about 200,000 (which, if I am not very much mistaken, is more than it does contain): this would give 48 yards to each; and any one who has seen its tall houses and narrow streets, well knows what a densely crowded city it is. Constantinople, excluding all the suburbs, covers about 18 millions of square yards, which, allowing 50 yards to each individual, would give a population of 360,000 souls; and this is more than I believe the city itself, without its suburbs, can be said to contain.

The modern town of Jerusalem covers an area of from nine to ten hundred thousand square yards,—measured on the best plans to which I have access, 941,000,—with a population, according to the Consul, Mr. Moore, of 10,000; to Robinson, of 11,000 or 11,500;² and according to Mr. Williams, of 10,920,³ which would allow 85 or 100 yards to each person. I am aware, however, that there are within the walls considerable open spaces uninhabited, and that if we took only the part actually covered by houses, we might reduce this estimate one-third or one-fourth; but at the same time we must bear in mind, that the poor pack very much closer all over the world than the rich,—that if Jerusalem, instead of being a poor and decayed city, as it now is, were rich and prosperous, its inhabitants would require more space than they now occupy for their dwellings; and this is more true in the East than in the West, for there court-yards and gardens, and separate apartments for women, are perfectly indispensable adjuncts to the houses of the wealthy; and it is also more true

¹ 'Description de l'Egypte, Etat Moderne,' tom. ii. p. 580.

² 'Biblical Researches,' vol. ii. p. 85.

³ 'Holy City,' p. 445.

of ancient than of modern times, for then houses were all of one story, or had at most "an upper room," used as a sleeping apartment; so that the ground that ancient cities must have covered, relatively to their population, must, I think, all things considered, have been very much greater than that occupied by cities of the present day.¹

If we apply these data to ancient Jerusalem, they will at least afford us certain maxima and minima, by which to check the conclusions we may arrive at from any other sources.

In the first place, taking the plan (Plate III.), I find that

The area of the old city was	. . . . .	513,000 square yards.
That of the city of David	. . . . .	243,000 „
Partial total	. . . . .	756,000 „
And that of the city enclosed by the wall of Agrippa	. . . . .	1,456,000 „
Grand total	. . . . .	2,212,000 „

Admitting these measurements to be nearly correct, if we allow the inhabitants of the two first-named cities 50 yards to each individual, and that one-half of the new city was inhabited at the rate of one person to each 100 yards, this will give a permanent population of about 23,000 or 25,000 souls. If, on the other hand, we allow only 33 yards to each individual of the old cities, and admit that the whole of the new was as densely inhabited as London, or allowing 100 yards to each individual, we obtain 37,000 souls for the whole—which I do not think it at all probable that Jerusalem ever could have contained as a permanent population.

Most people will no doubt be startled, and some, I fear, not a little scandalized at such a conclusion: to them I can only answer, it is none of my seeking, and my data are before them to check and disprove if they can. I have stretched the walls to the very utmost

¹ Applying these data to imperial Rome, I find that the utmost extent of its walls, as restored by Aurelian and Honorius, only enclosed 15,876,600 square yards, which, at 33 yards to each individual, would allow of a population of rather more than half a million of souls,—at 50 yards, of 317,000,—and at 100 square yards to each, of only 158,766, within the walls. Either the ancients must have packed very much more closely than we do, or the population of Rome has been grossly exaggerated: my own belief is that the latter is the true explanation.

extent which the authority of Josephus and the nature of the localities would admit of, and have enclosed a larger space within the walls, both of the old and new cities, than any restorer who has preceded me in the task; and even if Ophel is taken in, and a little—it can only be a very little—added to the city on the south, it will not materially affect the result. Under no circumstances can I make out that Jerusalem could contain more than from 35,000 to 40,000 inhabitants; and if, during festivals, it accommodated within its walls half as many more, it had more means of lodging strangers than any other city I am acquainted with.¹

In estimating the population of Jerusalem at so low a figure, it must be observed that I am stating the argument as strongly as possible against my own views; and those who wish to refute them must first prove that I have estimated the population too high; for it appears to me quite evident, that with a population of even 25,000 souls, the idea that the site of the present church of the Holy Sepulchre was ever outside the walls, is impossible, and the position I have assigned to the Hippicus more than probable; and every thousand inhabitants which any one thinks proper to add to that amount, only serves to render the one less possible, and the other more probable. On the south, east, and west, the boundaries of the city are defined and fixed within very narrow limits, and it is only to the north that any extension could have taken place, and it is there only we must look for accommodation for any extra number of inhabitants we may choose to add to the population. Still I can see no circumstance to justify us in placing more than one-third, certainly not one-half the whole population, outside the old walls; but if they were, then it must have been close to them, where their habita-

¹ If we take Mr. Williams's population returns, and his plan of the city, it will be found that after the first wall was taken, which was before the sword or famine had done much execution, there must have been about two persons to each square yard; and after the second wall was in the power of the Romans, four or five inhabitants of the devoted city stood on every square yard that remained in their possession! Really the proverbial proximity to one another of herrings in a barrel, is a joke to this. Poor wretched people! the horrors of the middle passage must have been luxury in comparison to this.

tions existed as suburbs, till Agrippa enclosed them by his wall, and towards the Psephinus, where, according to Josephus, the city was inhabited, though thinly:¹ on the eastern and northern side it could not have been densely inhabited, because, after the first wall was taken, Titus found abundance of open ground for his camp, at the place called the Camp of the Assyrians;² and when he held a review of his troops in front of his camp, the manœuvres were plainly visible to the inhabitants, who crowded the old wall and the northern cloister of the Temple:³ besides, there is no allusion to any burning or destruction, nor to any thing that could impede or embarrass the besieger, till he got within the second wall, when we at once see he was within a densely inhabited town; and street fighting in all its forms is practised, and other indications of density of population take place, which were entirely wanting before: still, on the other hand, we have the direct testimony of Josephus, that the city had crept out of its old bounds, till the hill Bezetha had come to be inhabited. But with all this, we must stretch the evidence very much to find as many as 7000 inhabitants in this new city, which, however, is far more than sufficient to prove that the present Calvary was in ancient times in the middle of the city, more emphatically than at present; and if the Hippicus was where it is usually placed, we must diminish considerably the population of the old enclosures, though only to accommodate them outside the walls, unless it can be proved that Jerusalem did not, at the time of the crucifixion, contain 25,000 inhabitants, which I have very little fear of any one attempting.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE instantia crucis of this or any other system of the topography of Jerusalem must always be its explaining and rendering intelligible the allusions to places mentioned in the Bible,—a task which yet

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. vi. 2; v. iv. 2.

² Book v. chap. vii. 2.

³ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. ix. 1.

remains to be performed; for though hundreds have laboured at it, no system has yet been proposed that has been accepted, either by the learned or the public. As I said before, the Bible does not contain within itself the materials for constructing a plan of Jerusalem without extraneous aid; but it contains innumerable allusions to places, which are facts; and if we had been perfectly acquainted with the plan of the old city, they would all be readily understood by us, which is not the case at present. The book of Nehemiah does, it is true, contain what may perhaps be called a topographical description of the walls of the city, and the only data almost that we possess for the purpose; and with the mention of a few distances, and an allusion, however incidental, to the north, south, east, or west, the problem would have been solved long ago,—instead of being, as it yet remains, a curious instance of how many shapes the same set of plain words may be twisted into, when describing a material thing, of which we have only a verbal representation. Undeterred, however, by the failure of all my predecessors, I must at least add one more attempt to the long list, already existing, to explain the 3rd chapter of Nehemiah; but before doing so, it is necessary to attempt to settle one point of the utmost importance, in which it appears to me all modern writers on the subject are greatly mistaken, and their mistakes regarding which are the cause of innumerable others. The point to which I allude is the position of Mount Sion. Unfortunately our friend Josephus deserts us here; for I am not aware that his works contain the word Sion in any form, which, to say the least of it, is singular,—but so it is, and it is therefore of little use to speculate on the subject.

In the first place, then, all Christian writers, from the time of Constantine, through all the middle ages, and down to the present hour, in speaking of Mount Sion, apply that name to the southwestern hill, called by Josephus the upper market-place, and to which the native Christians of the present day, and even, I believe, the Mahometans, apply the same name. If it were worth while here, I could, I think, prove that at least some of the earlier Christian writers include the whole of the site of Jerusalem, as far as St.

Stephen's gate, under that term; but still, with all, Sion, par excellence, is always the southern extremity of the city.¹

On the other hand, the Rabbis with one voice declare that Sion is or was on the *north* side of the Temple.² Now I am as little inclined to go to the Talmud for my facts as any one; and if it were a matter of opinion, or a disputable fact, I would not think of quoting it as an authority. If, for instance, the Talmud asserted, in contradiction to any other information we possessed on the subject, that 100,000 men were employed in a certain way, or on a certain work, or that it was 1000 cubits long or high, I could believe it quite as likely that only 100 or 1000 men were employed, and that it probably was only 10 or 100 cubits in length or height. There might, in such assertions, be a motive, but here I cannot trace one. It could be a matter of no importance to them whether it was on the north or the south, and they could only assert what they believed to be the fact, either from their own local or traditional knowledge; and if they had such, the Rabbis are quite as good authorities on such a subject as the most trustworthy historian. And in this matter, therefore, it appears to me difficult to reject the authority of the Rabbis. But fortunately, we are not left to them alone, for the Bible appears to me to support their testimony on this point most completely, though only directly, as far as I am aware, in one instance, in the 2nd verse of the 48th Psalm, where it is said, "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Sion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great King."

The passages in the books of Maccabees are perfectly distinct on this point; and though they may be apocryphal in theology, they certainly were written by some one acquainted with the localities, and the facts he was narrating, and who could scarcely be mistaken when

¹ I am of course aware that Drs. Clarke and Olshausen, and one or two other theoretical writers, have tried to find another hill, more in accordance with scriptural indications, to which to apply the terms, but hitherto without success.

² This fact I believe to be uncontroverted, not only from my own imperfect knowledge of the writings of the Rabbis, but because Dr. Lightfoot, who studied them

he said, "Upon this all the host assembled together, and they went up into Mount Sion; and when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the shrubs growing in the courts as a forest," &c.¹—"At that time also they builded up the Mount Sion with strong towers and high walls round about, lest the Gentiles should come and tread it down, as they had done before." And again; "After this went Nicanor up to Mount Sion, and there came out of the sanctuary certain priests," &c.;²—and others, which appear to me certainly to identify Sion with the Temple mount. Besides this, there are the passages that identify Sion with the city of David,—“Nevertheless David took the stronghold of Sion,—the same is the city of David;”³ and the parallel passage in Chronicles;⁴ and lastly, the identification of the castle of David with the tower Antonia; with other incidental notices that will be better understood after we have gone through the more ancient topography of the place. Indeed, unless the Talmudists are correct on this point, all these passages, and many more in the Bible, are, it appears to me, utterly inexplicable; but placing Sion where they place it, all is plain and easily understood,—so much so, indeed, that I do not think it would have been for one moment doubted, had not topographers made the great mistake in the first place, of supposing that the Temple stood on the Sakrah, when they could, of course, find no room for Sion in this direction; but that being rectified, I think there can be very little doubt about the matter; for I do not know one passage in the Bible which is better explained by the position in which Sion is usually placed than by this one;—nor one single argument that can be adduced for putting it there, except the consensus omnium, which, in this case, I believe to be only the unreasoning acquiescence in a tradition, which it has not occurred to any one to doubt.

It is nowhere, I believe, in the Bible directly asserted that the

with singular zeal and diligence, asserts it repeatedly; and Dr. Robinson, Mr. Williams, and others, whose views are utterly opposed to the conclusion, still admit the premises, merely passing them over as inexplicable.

¹ 1 Maccabees, iv. 37, *et seq.*, and 60.

³ 2 Samuel, v. 7.

² 1 Maccabees, vii. 33.

⁴ 1 Chronicles, xi. 5.

tombs of David and his successors were on Mount Sion: but with one exception, where their burying-places are mentioned, it is said they were in the city of David at Jerusalem,¹—the exception being the wicked King Ahaz, who, for his sins, was buried *in* Jerusalem, and not in the tombs of his forefathers:² but if we add to this the passages quoted above, which connect the city of David with Sion, and Sion with the Temple mount, there can be, I think, very little doubt as to their position. Indeed, so distinct are the indications in the Old Testament, that it seems never to have been doubted; and, consequently, when the southern hill was called Sion, the sepulchre of David was at the same time transferred to that locality where it is now pointed out; and the tower in the citadel called the tower of David, to accommodate the position of the castle of David of the Scriptures with this assumed position for the sepulchres. For all this, however, I cannot discover a trace of authority either in the Bible or Josephus, or any ancient indication; and the passages in the Old Testament are utterly inexplicable on this theory: if, however, we place the city of David where I have placed it, it appears to me that all the passages in the Old Testament and the Apocrypha become quite plain and intelligible, and that the tombs of the sons of David were situated to the northward of the Temple, on the hill I have marked as *Sion* on the map. Here, also, was buried the good priest Jehoiada,³ because he had done good in Israel; but, probably, this privilege became more common afterwards;⁴ for I cannot but think that it became then, as it is now, the chief cemetery of Jerusalem. But

¹ 2 Kings, xiv. 20: see also 1 Kings, ii. 10; xi. 43; xiv. 31; xv. 8, 24; xxii. 50; 2 Kings, ix. 28; xii. 21; xv. 38; and parallel passages in Chronicles.

² 2 Chronicles, xxviii. 27.

³ 2 Chronicles, xxiv. 16.

⁴ Whether these graves were cut in the rock, or a mausoleum erected above ground, is not very apparent; perhaps they were both—first a series of chambers cut in the rock, and then a monument of some sort erected over them: at all events we know that Herod erected a white marble stele in front of the entrance to David's sepulchre, as a sort of expiation for having violated it (Antiq. Book xvi. chap. vii. 1); and from Dio Cassius (Hist. Rom. Book Lxix. xiv.) we learn that before the last Jewish war in the time of Hadrian, the monument of Solomon fell down. Still if they were

besides this, looking to the plan of the city (Plate III.), or the restored plan of the Temple (Plate VI.), we find to the north of the Temple just such a hill as is required to confirm this testimony, and without any trace of any building having existed upon it in ancient times. It is now surmounted by the building called the Mosque of Omar, but about this there is nothing certainly which can be conjectured to belong to a period antecedent to the Christian era, unless, indeed, it be the cave in the rock.

Assuming this, therefore, for the present, let us attempt to explain the 3rd chapter of the book of Nehemiah.

The first, and indeed the great difficulty, is to fix the position of the sheep-gate, from which the description commences, and to which it returns. This gate I identify with the gate of Gennath of Josephus; and it appears to me it was chosen by Nehemiah to begin his description of the walls, for the same reason that it was mentioned by Josephus,—because here the two walls met, and consequently it was almost the only place where a person describing the old and middle walls could begin his description from. If I am correct in this, we easily recognize the towers Mariamne and Hippicus under the more ancient names of Meah and Hananeel; which Herod apparently repaired—perhaps rebuilt and rebaptized, in the same way as he did the old citadel Baris, giving it the new name of Antonia.

The next place mentioned is the fish-gate, for which we have a positive authority in Jerome,¹ who says it led to Diospolis and Joppa, and therefore must have been somewhere about this corner, or on the north-west of the city. After getting on a considerable way we come to the “old gate,” which I identify with the present Jaffa gate, or with a gate somewhere in this neighbourhood. We next have a variety of repairs, extending from the throne of the governor along the broad wall to the “tower of the furnaces.”

more above ground than below it, it is singular that Josephus should never mention them: but he does mention the monument of King Alexander in this very spot, so that it seems that the practice of burying kings here continued to a very late date.

¹ Hieron. in Sophon. i. 10.

Having the tower of Phasaëlus here, I should be inclined to identify it with this tower; but looking at the context, this appears crowding matters too much, though, as there are no measures given in the text, it is impossible to determine exactly how much of the wall is meant, and one portion may have been so little damaged as to require very little repair; so that one man's work may extend in one place a great way, and it may have required many to repair a few hundred feet in another place. If, therefore, the existing tower is not the tower of the furnaces, we must look for it further on, in or about the second place I have suggested in the map. We next come to the "valley-gate," about which I feel very little doubt, for *the* valley, *par excellence*, in Jerusalem, is undoubtedly the one to the southward of the city; and the valley-gate, I think, must be the gate that led to it, somewhere about where I have placed it. We then get on at once over 1000 cubits of the wall to the dung-gate, which most authors have agreed to place in this neighbourhood, and then to the fountain-gate;¹ and as mention is now made of the Pool of Siloam, we cannot be much mistaken as to whereabouts the localities were which are mentioned in the 15th verse;—the gate must either have been where I have placed it, or at least not far from thence. The next locality mentioned is "the stairs that go down from the city of David," which, from the description of the procession in the twelfth chapter, that went by these stairs up to the water-gate of the Temple eastward, cannot have been far from the spot where the bridge was afterwards erected, to supply the place of the stairs in a more commodious manner: but of this more hereafter.

The next places mentioned (verse 16) are, Bethzur, a name in the Maccabees continually applied to the tower Antonia;²—the sepulchres of David, which, I have above shown, were on Mount Sion,—and as Sion was to the northward of the Temple, their being men-

¹ It is probably through this gate the King Hezekiah escaped (2 Kings, xxv. 4), for it was a gate between two walls, and towards Siloam and the King's garden; and, as we shall presently see, there was a second wall here, enclosing Ophel, which makes the first expression sense; for unless there were two walls here, the mention of a gate between two walls is nonsense.

² 1 Maccabees, vi. 7, 31, 49, *et seq.*; 2 Maccabees, xiii. 19, 22, &c.

tioned here distinctly points to this place also;—the pool that was made, which may either be Bethsaida, or more probably the Pool of Hezekiah, which he made when he brought down the waters of Gihon to the west side of the city of David;¹—and lastly, “the house of the mighty,” which might possibly be applied to the Temple, but more probably to the residences of the Kings, of which there were two in this neighbourhood,—one in the citadel of Sion,—the house of David,—and one in the upper city, over against the Temple:² all which, I think, shows certainly the neighbourhood in which we are; though there appears to be some little confusion in the localities, but not more than might be expected from the complication of walls that existed here, some running east and west to join Sion to Jerusalem, and others continuing on round the old city. There is, after this, no recognizable name or locality till we come to the armory at the turning of the wall (verse 19); and again, another turning, even unto the corner (verse 24); both which would accord with the general character of the old wall here: but these are too indefinite to enable us to fix their position with any thing like certainty. After this (verse 25) is mentioned “the tower that lieth out by the King’s high house, that was by the court of the prison,”³ which I believe to refer to the palace which Herod afterwards repaired and resided in, at the north-west angle of the city.⁴

By this process it will be perceived that we have got back to the sheep-gate, or nearly so, before we have gone through the enumeration of places by Nehemiah. I think, however, that any one who reads the narrative attentively will perceive that there is a break in it at the 26th verse, and that he begins again with a new subject; and, if I am at all correct in the determination

¹ 2 Chronicles, xxxii. 3, 4, 30, &c.

² Jewish Wars, Book II. chap. xvi. 3.

³ If the arch (‘Holy City,’ p. 286) discovered by Mr. Williams in the Hospital of St. John, which he wishes to make part of the old wall, be really of ancient masonry, as he would have us believe it is, it would answer well for the position of the court of the prison; and its having sustained a vault would render this a more likely adaptation than its being part of the city wall.

⁴ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. iv. 4.

of the places mentioned in the 15th and 16th verses, it is evident it must be so, for the place first mentioned in the 26th verse is Ophel, which I see no reason to doubt being the Ophlas¹ of Josephus, and, consequently, to the southward of the Temple. The mention of the water-gate also, in this verse, plainly indicates the locality; for I look on the water-gate of the Temple as one of the best fixed points in the whole topography, and the mention of this wall of Ophel being over against it, as one of the most satisfactory conclusions that could be come to; and as it is almost impossible to find room for all the places mentioned, from the 15th to the 25th verse, between the fountain-gate and the water-gate, I see no means of getting over the difficulty but that I have chosen. The only tower that lieth out, to which the text could in this case apply, is that at the south-east angle of the Temple; and the "great tower that lieth out" would then be the one at the north-east angle. The next place where the priests repaired, "every one over against his own house," appears to me to indicate most clearly that we are now speaking of one of the walls of the Temple,—most probably the northern one; and again, the horse-gate falls in where it should do,² in the neighbourhood of "the house of the mighty" (verse 16). The next recognizable place mentioned is the east gate, which also falls in exactly where we should expect to find it; after which we have one more gate mentioned, that of Miphkad, which may have been the Damascus gate, or near it; then another corner; and lastly, we arrive again at the sheep-gate, from which the description commenced.

If from this we turn to the dedication of the walls as described in the twelfth chapter of the same book, we shall find it, I think, strongly confirmatory of these views. The people, with the priests, seem to have got on the walls at the point nearly opposite to the Temple, and, dividing into two parties, the one went on the right hand, along the south side of the city, toward the dung-gate; and, "at the fountain-gate, which was over against them, they went up by the stairs of the city of David, at the going up of the wall,

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. iv. 1. ² 2 Kings, xi. 16; 2 Chronicles, xxiii. 15.

above the house of David, even unto the water-gate eastward." A reference to the map will show how perfectly distinct every part of this description is; and the going up eastward to the city of David is more important in confirming the views previously announced. To me it appears that the only possible discrepancy of opinion that can exist on this subject is, whether these stairs were at the southern end of the Temple, where the bridge was afterwards built, or at the northern end, by the causeway, mentioned by Josephus:¹ so far as the general question of the topography is concerned, it is a matter of no great importance which is chosen, and I confess I am myself sometimes inclined to adopt the one view, sometimes the other; but, on the whole, if called on to decide, I should choose the southern extremity of the Temple enclosure as their most likely position, from the circumstance of the water-gate being on that side, though of course they might have reached it as easily from the north-west angle as from the south-west.

The course of the other party is as easily understood: they went up on the wall beyond the tower of the furnaces, passed the gate of Ephraim, the old gate, the fish-gate, the towers Hananeel and Meah, the sheep-gate, and stood still in the prison-gate, which, as I showed before, was one of the northern gates of the Temple. "So stood the two companies of them that gave thanks in the house of God."

From the above it would seem that the valley-gate and the gate of Ephraim are one and the same place, and that the tower of the furnaces was beyond it. The principal apparent difficulty in the route of this second party is the crowding of gates and places on the western side and north-western corner of the city, and there being no place mentioned between the sheep-gate and the prison-gate, which has induced most topographers to place the former near the Temple: assuming that it was so, the gate of Gennath would then be the fish-gate, and the two towers, Meah and Hananeel, between the two, and so on. In some respects this is probable enough, but then comes the difficulty of locating all those places I have put into the second wall, and ending the description at the sheep-gate, from

¹ Antiq. Book xv. chap. xi. 5.

which we set out; but the difficulty does not appear to me worth attending to, when we recollect that between the sheep-gate and the Temple, as I have restored it, there is no place of importance mentioned (chap. iii. vs. 17–25), which could be recounted in narrating the progress of a procession; and though the distance was considerable, there is no spot that would call for remark. If my view of the matter is correct, they were passing along an inner wall, through the middle of the city, which, though repaired, was not of the same importance as the outer one, and therefore passed over with only incidental notices of it.

There is, however, one point of importance which must not be overlooked, which is, that in the account of the procession there is no mention of any of the gates or places which I have put into the second or outer wall; they evidently did not ascend it, nor pass over any part of it,—the object apparently being that they should pass over the old or principal wall of the city, and the one party enter the Temple by one of its northern gates, the other by a southern one; and the omission of all these names appears to me almost proof positive that the view I have taken of this most puzzling piece of topography is the correct one.

One other point in Nehemiah remains to be mentioned before leaving him, which is his survey of the walls in the night, described in the 2nd chapter, verse 13, *et seq.*, where his progress can easily be traced; for he went out by the valley-gate, and round the walls to the left, as far as the brook Cedron,—which is the only brook near Jerusalem,—and then turned back, and entered again by the same gate through which he went out. Nothing, it appears to me, can be clearer, or more easily understood.

If the above explains most of the difficulties that have beset this most perplexed subject, it is all that it attempts to do: it would be absurd to assert that the localities are proved to have been as I have set them down, as I do not think the subject capable of proof; for it is not quite clear that Nehemiah mentions the places consecutively, or that he mentions all: many portions may have been omitted, as not requiring repair, or not then repaired. It is perhaps more an enumeration of those that chiefly distinguished themselves

in the good work, than any thing else; but whatever it may be, it appears to me that the above cannot be far from the truth—if it is not in all cases minutely correct.

If I have made the above (which is by far the most difficult passage in the Bible bearing on this point) at all clear, the remaining points of the ancient topography of Jerusalem will be easily understood from an inspection of the map (Plate III.), and I will explain them in as few words as I can.

First, then, it appears almost self-evident that the ancient Jerusalem, properly so called, the city of the Jebusites, was that city described by Josephus as the upper and lower city, enclosed within the first wall; but that when David got possession of this city, he determined to build the Temple, not within its walls, but outside, and on a spot opposite to it, where the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite was, which, like all threshing-floors in the East, was outside the city. But, at the same time, he either found or founded a citadel there, to the northward of the Temple enclosure, on Mount Sion, which was called the city or house of David, and which was afterwards known as Millo,¹ Acra (in the Septuagint), Bethsura, Baris, and Antonia,² which were all, if not exactly one and the same place, at least denominations of different parts of that citadel or enclosure which extended from the old city across the valley to the Temple hill, and of which a tower or citadel formed a part, from the time of David to that of Titus. The Xystus also either was in Millo or adjoined it, or stood between it and the palace in the upper city.

¹ With regard to Millo, Dr. Lightfoot says, (Works, vol. ii. p. 25,) "Interpreters differ about Millo. There is one (R. Kimchi) who supposes it to be a large place for public meetings and assemblies. Another (R. Esias) interprets it as a heap of earth thrown up against the wall within, whence they might more easily get upon the wall. Some others there are who understand it of the valley or street that runs between Jerusalem and Sion, and so it is commonly marked out on the maps, while, in truth, Millo was a part of Sion, or some hill cast up against it on the west side." To my view of the matter, all these authorities are quite correct, and explain not only the meaning of the word, but also seem to fix the position of the place.

² 2 Sam. v. 7, 9; 1 Chron. xi. 5, 7; 2 Chron. viii. 11; xxxii. 5; 1 Kings, ix. 24; and xi. 27, &c. This explanation is also in perfect accordance with the Talmudists, as explained by Lightfoot, Buxtorf, Kennicott, &c.

Solomon is said in the Bible to have built the wall of Jerusalem, and repaired the breaches in the city of David,¹ which probably can scarcely be taken in its literal sense, as it is more than probable, from the context, that Jerusalem was a walled city before David took it; he may possibly have rebuilt it, and certainly repaired it, at least.² But there is the wall of Ophel, which he probably did build from the very foundation, as it could not have belonged to the old city; and this will explain how it came to pass that Solomon built only the eastern wall and cloister of the Temple, while the other parts of the holy house stood naked;³ for a glance at the plan will show that this was the only wall required to enclose the Temple and join it to the city, as it was covered on the north by the fortification of Millo and the city of David, and on the south by the wall of Ophel; while on the west, being that towards the old city, it required no wall to protect it. Still it must, even then, have been enclosed and railed off, for we read of gates on the south and west sides; though it was not till after long ages that the other banks were raised, and the whole area of the hill became a large plain.⁴

In Josephus's time there were four gates in the western side of the Temple, and probably also in Solomon's, viz. one at the southern extremity of the temenos or enclosure, where the bridge afterwards was erected to avoid the steep descent by stairs down from the city and up on the other side again. These I take to be the stairs of the city of David, before alluded to, and the ascent of Solomon, that so astonished the Queen of Sheba.⁵ Another gate was at the northern extremity of the same wall, and led in like manner to the old city, by steps up and down the sides of the valley, and had also a communication with the city between the two northern walls;⁶ and the position of the other two gates will now be easily understood, for they led to the suburbs,⁷ or, as the Hebrew has it, to Parbar or

¹ 1 Kings, ix. 15; and xi. 27.

² Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. iv. 2.

³ Ibid. v. v. 1.

⁴ Jewish Wars, *loc. cit.* Those, therefore, who indulge in speculation as to whether the arches of the bridge and the gate under the Aksa were the works of Solomon, have as little authority from history as from the nature of the works.

⁵ 1 Kings, x. 5.

⁶ Antiq. xv. xi. 5.

⁷ Antiq. *loc. cit.*

Parvar,—an outward place,¹—which no one has been able to explain, but which I think there can be no doubt applies to that part of the city lying between the Temple and the old city: to the latter it must have been a suburb before Sion was enclosed. There is no other place where it is so likely the old city could have had a suburb as this well watered and sheltered valley; and it seems to have retained its ancient name long afterwards, pretty much as our St. George's in the Fields retains its original title long after it has become inapplicable.

There was apparently also one gate on each of the remaining sides;—of that on the south, I have already spoken twice (pp. 13 *et seq.*), while of those on the east and the north, no traces have yet been found; nor is there any indication in either the Bible or Josephus that would lead us to any satisfactory conclusion as to their position. Indeed, I question much if they existed in Herod's temple; for the eastern cloister seems frequently to have been repaired and raised, and the northern wall was, after Solomon's time, taken down, and the Temple area enlarged on that side,² at the expense of the citadel of David, which, before this was done, must have been more extensive than it afterwards appeared.

There remains only one wall to be accounted for, that on the north, or the middle wall of Josephus, which I have little doubt is the one built by Hezekiah or Manasseh,³ “who built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in at the fish-gate.” Gihon, I may remark, *en passant*, is, in the Old Testament, always applied to the brook Cedron, and nowhere more distinctly than in this passage, for a wall on the *west* side of the modern Gihon could have no connexion with the city; but, with this explanation, the wall is described with tolerable distinctness,—the valley in this passage is the one called by Mr. Williams the Tyropœon; the only discrepancy with my restoration from Nehemiah being that it began at or near the fish-gate instead of the sheep-gate; not that I think this of much

¹ 1 Chron. xxvi. 18; 2 Kings, xxiii. 11.

² Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. v. 1.

³ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

consequence, for if it is not a mere inadvertence of the chronicler describing the whole northern wall, it is probable that he did rebuild or repair that small portion of it between the two gates mentioned, his design being to strengthen the northern defences of the city; and down to the time of Titus that bit of wall was the weakest point¹ in the defences of the city; and though apparently the two towers, Meah and Hananeel, were erected to remedy this defect, even they were not sufficient for the purpose.

This wall of Manasseh appears to be that described by Jeremiah, or does his book describe prophetically that of Agrippa, afterwards erected? when he says—"Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner. And the measuring line shall yet go forth over against it upon the hill of Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath. And the whole valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook Kidron, unto the corner of the horse-gate towards the east, shall be holy unto the Lord."²

Whether this passage refers to the second wall, which I have assumed was built before Jeremiah's time by Manasseh or his father, or prophesies the extension of the city that took place under the Romans, is not of much consequence to our present purpose; but the point of most importance is, that it describes a wall extending from the N. W. corner of the city round to the neighbourhood of the Temple, where the horse-gate was; and it confirms strongly the view I have taken above of the several localities, and besides points out, approximatively at least, the position of Gareb, which must be Bezetha; and of Goath, which I trust to be able to show afterwards was Golgotha. And lastly, we have here, in the neighbourhood of the horse-gate, "the whole valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes," which is another confirmation of the great cemetery having been here.

I may also here mention a theory that has often occurred to me in studying the topography of Jerusalem, regarding the N. W. corner, which may account for the above, if correct, though I fear I cannot

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. vi. 2.

² Jeremiah, xxxi. 38-40.

prove it. It is this,—that a wall ran in former times from where I have placed the sheep-gate to the old or Jaffa gate; in other words, from the tower Mariamne to the Phasaëlus. Did such a wall exist, it would make Josephus's description of Acra,—that it was shaped like the gibbous moon,¹—more mathematically correct than it is, even without it. It would fully account for Titus leaving the three towers to form an encampment for the tenth legion;² and lastly, it would complete Josephus's description of Herod's palace, situated at this corner, "which was entirely walled about to the height of 30 cubits, and adorned with towers at equal distances."³

WATERS OF JERUSALEM.

I have not perhaps, in the above, mentioned all the points of Jewish topography which are alluded to in the Bible; but I have, I think, pointed out those necessary for understanding the topography of the place, which is all I wished to attempt here. There remains, however, one very singular point concerning the waters of Jerusalem, for which I would willingly wait for more local information before attempting to decide upon. And were it only important as a Jewish antiquity, I would for this reason waive it at present; but as it becomes of great interest as a point of Christian and Mahometan topography, I must attempt to explain it as far as the data will allow.⁴ Josephus is singularly silent on this subject, and we are left almost entirely to the notices in the Old Testament and the local indications for our information regarding them. These, however, will suffice for at least a probable description of their course.

Jerusalem, it seems, like its sister Holy City of Mecca, probably owes its existence to, or at least has always been famous for, a mysterious Zemzem, or fountain of living waters, flowing through its centre in underground channels, while their source and their

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. iv. 1. ² Ibid. vii. i. 1. ³ Ibid. v. iv. 4.

⁴ By far the most valuable chapter in Mr. Williams's book is that referring to the waters of Jerusalem ('Holy City,' Part II. chap. iii. p. 377, *et seq.*), and it is the only one that contains any new information or any reasoning that can be depended upon.

outflow are equally unknown; not so much, however, at Jerusalem as at Mecca, for here the industry of man has brought it to the surface at several places,—and it is perhaps man's labour, also, that has buried it in the earth.

To begin at their lower extremity. The Pool of Siloam is one of the very few antiquities of Jerusalem which retains its own original name from the time of Nehemiah, at least, to the present hour: it consists of an artificial reservoir into which the waters flow irregularly,¹ probably from their being more or less used in the city through which they pass; for now, at least, the supply is so scanty, that working the wells vigorously for the supply of the baths or fountains, at any time, would exhaust the whole for many hours; though so matter-of-fact an explanation is little to the taste of those who have observed it in earlier ages.

Besides the irregular flow, the most striking peculiarity is the taste, which is apparently so marked as to be easily recognizable from that of rain or common spring water; and this affords a means of identifying it, when met with in other places.²

From this spot, Dr. Robinson traced it through an artificial channel or tunnel, cut through the ridge of Ophel to the Fountain of the Virgin, in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Whoever excavated it, it is a singularly bad specimen of engineering, as its length is 1750 feet, owing to its windings, while the direct length between the two extremities is only 1100. Through it the adventurous explorer found the water flowing for its whole length. So far, all is plain; but the question arises now, whence does the water reach the Fountain of the Virgin? Before we can attempt to answer this, we must examine the other places where it is found. Proceeding upwards, the next place is a bath on the western side of the Haram, just north of the causeway.³ Here, as far as the description is intelligible, it is found in a channel running from the enclosure of

¹ 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. p. 493, *et seq.*, which is by far the more complete and authentic account of this singular pool: for the irregular flow, see pp. 505, *et seq.*

² 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. p. 505. 'Holy City,' pp. 379, 381, 384, &c.

³ 'Holy City,' p. 381, *et seq.*

the Haram westward, to the point where the bath is situated, and no further. According to my view of the topography, it is just such a conduit as I should expect to find cut to supply Millo or some of the public buildings in that quarter,—assuming that the main channel was close under the walls of the Haram, or running through the city of David direct to the centre of the Temple. Again, it is found at the Church of the Flagellation, at the distance of about 400 yards, in a direction nearly due north from this spot. Mr. Williams mentions a tradition of its being *heard* near the Damascus gate, which may be correct, though I should not like to place much dependence upon it, particularly as he did not hear it; and no one is even said to have either seen or tasted it there.

These are, I believe, the only four spots where the water has been identified; but there is a singular channel cut in the rock at right angles to this, which is mentioned by Mejr ed Din,¹ as running under the causeway all the way from the area of the Haram to the tower of David, on the western side of the city,—an assertion that has been singularly confirmed lately, when digging the foundation of the English church, by the discovery of just such a channel, running east and west; though, owing to the foundation of an oil-press blocking it up to the westward, and some rubbish obstructing it to the eastward, the architect was able to trace it for only about 400 or 450 feet.² Whether this channel joined that of the bath above mentioned, or ran direct to the Haram, behind the causeway, is a question that can only be determined by observation: my own belief is, that the channel of the bath is a part of this one; but it is not of much consequence whether it is or not.

Though it is not capable of positive proof, I think there can now be little doubt but that these waters crossed the Temple area, and then were conveyed in a southerly direction to the Fountain of the Virgin. That the Jews were capable of executing such a work, we have abundant proof in that cut from the bath to the tower of David, and from the Fountain of the Virgin to Siloam; and when they could execute such a work as the latter,—for no more important purpose,

¹ 'Fundgruben des Orients,' vol. ii. p. 126.

² Bartlett's 'Walks,' p. 82.

apparently, than irrigating the king's garden,—for no other has been, or perhaps can be, suggested,—how much more likely is it that they would do it to procure a supply of pure water for the sacrifices and wants of their beloved Temple!

Tacitus mentions a perennial fountain of water, conveyed through rock-cut channels,¹ but does not say in what direction it flowed. Strabo seems also to intimate such a fact, as he twice mentions it, but without any further particulars;² and we are, for a direct authority on the subject, left to the somewhat apocryphal account of Aristeas,³ who states that there existed under the Temple a powerful natural spring, conveyed in every direction through numerous pipes, above which there were frequent hidden apertures, known only to those employed at the sacrifice, and through which the water, gushing with force, washed off all the blood of the numerous victims.⁴

Half-way between the building called the Mosque of Omar and the Aksa there is a fountain which yields a constant supply of water, though I have not been able to ascertain whether it is the peculiar water of Siloam or not; and just within the Aksa, the well described above (p. 28), which I believe to be the well mentioned so pointedly in the Talmud; but they both would fall within the inner enclosure of the Temple, as I have restored it, one to the north and the other to the south of the altar, and afford just such a supply as was wanted for its use; and I therefore cannot help assuming that they stand on the conduit that leads from the bath, above described, to the Fountain of the Virgin.

I think there can be no doubt that the execution of these singular and important water-works of the Jews must be ascribed to King Hezekiah, who stopped all the fountains and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, "Why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water?"⁵ And again, he "stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David." And again, "He fortified his city,

¹ Tacitus, Hist. v. xii. "Fons perennis aquæ et cavati sub terra montes."

² Strabo, xvi. p. 761, *et seq.* ³ Aristeas in Havercamp's Josephus, p. 112.

⁴ See also 'Holy City,' p. 386, *et seq.* ⁵ 2 Chron. xxxii. 4, 30.

and brought in water into the midst thereof: he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells for waters.”¹ And lastly, “who made a ditch and a pool between the two walls for the waters of the old pool.”² All which are perfectly intelligible, not only without forcing the interpretation, but without further comment, on a mere inspection of the plan; to which I will now leave the subject, only remarking that I think the expression of Pool of Hezekiah unwarranted by scripture authority, unless by the passages in Isaiah; but then they seem to refer to the other pools older than his time, which he altered, and perhaps supplied afresh with water. He made conduits and wells, but the pools seem to be those of David or Solomon, which apparently were situated in the valley between the Temple and the old city, “between the two walls,” and down which the principal part of the waters seem to have flowed to Siloam, till they were diverted through the Temple area for the supply of the altar.

Before leaving this part of my subject I must recapitulate and add a few words more to what I have said with regard to the position of Sion, which is so vitally important a point in the topography of the city. There are first the passages in Maccabees, above quoted, which are quite clear on this point; those in the books of the Kings and Chronicles, which identify the city of David with Sion, and the Temple with the city of David; the procession in Nehemiah that went up eastward to the city of David; the waters that Hezekiah brought into the midst of the city to the west side of the city of David, &c. But besides these there is the 2nd verse of the 48th Psalm, which many have considered as in itself sufficient to set the question quite at rest, and in which I agree with them; for none of those even whose ideas are most opposed to its testimony seem by any re-translation or hypothesis to be able to get over the difficulty of so distinct a testimony. There are, moreover, innumerable passages in the Bible where Sion is spoken of in a manner that it appears to me could only apply to the hill of the Temple, and so distinctly that it never occurred to my mind to doubt the fact till I learned from

¹ Ecclus. xlviii. 17.

² Isaiah, xxii. 11.

the narratives of modern travellers that it was impossible, and that I must understand the Bible differently. Such expressions, for instance, as "I set my king on my holy hill of Sion"¹—"The Lord loveth the gates of Sion more than all the dwellings of Jacob"²—"The Lord has chosen Sion"³—"The city of the Lord, the Sion of the Holy One of Israel"⁴—"Arise ye, and let us go up to Sion to the Lord"⁵—"Thus saith the Lord, I am returned to Sion"⁶—"I am the Lord thy God, dwelling in Sion, my holy mountain"⁷—"For the Lord dwelleth in Sion;"⁸ and many others which will occur to every one at all familiar with the scriptures, seem to me to indicate plainly the hill of the Temple. Substitute the word Jerusalem for Sion in these passages, and we feel at once how it grates on the ear; for such epithets as these are never applied to that city: on the contrary, if there is a curse uttered, or term of disparagement, it is seldom applied to Sion, but always to her unfortunate sister, Jerusalem. But it is never said,—The Lord dwelleth in Jerusalem; or, loveth Jerusalem; or any such expression, which surely would have occurred, had Jerusalem and Sion been one and the same place, as they now are, and are generally supposed to have been.

Besides these, however, there are many passages in the Bible—I think I can point out ten—where Jerusalem is spoken of as a distinct and separate city from Sion; as, for instance, "Out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and they that escape out of Mount Sion"⁹—"Do good to Sion; build thou the walls of Jerusalem"¹⁰—"The Lord shall yet comfort Sion, and choose Jerusalem"¹¹—"The people shall yet dwell in Sion *at* Jerusalem"¹²—"The Lord shall roar from Sion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem;"¹³ and others, which it is true are not sufficient to prove that Jerusalem and Sion are two separate places or hills, but certainly are much more correct and exact, if so understood, than according to the usual

¹ Psalm ii. 6.² Psalm lxxxvii. 2.³ Psalm cxxxii. 13.⁴ Isaiah, lx. 14.⁵ Jeremiah, xxxi. 6.⁶ Zechariah, viii. 3.⁷ Joel, iii. 17.⁸ Joel, iii. 21.⁹ 2 Kings, xix. 31; Isaiah, xxxvii. 32.¹⁰ Psalm li. 18.¹¹ Zecl. i. 17.¹² Isaiah, xxx. 19.¹³ Joel, iii. 16; Amos, i. 2.

topographical theory ; and, taken altogether, I consider this evidence as conclusive as it is nearly possible to be on such a subject.

And what is there to oppose to all this evidence both local and documentary ? literally nothing : at least, if there is one local indication, or one passage, either in the Bible or any other ancient book, that can be alleged against it, I can only say that I am ignorant of its existence, and must wait till it is brought to my notice by some one. It may then be asked,—if this is so, how is it possible that almost all authors are so much misled on the subject ? Not all ; for Lightfoot, the Rabbis, and others who looked only at the documentary evidence, placed it where I do ; but travellers have found at Jerusalem a hill called Sion,—not only now by the native Christians of every denomination, but by all previous Christian historians and travellers, whether of the time of the Crusades or earlier. As early indeed as A. D. 333, the Bourdeaux Pilgrim appears to give the western hill this hallowed denomination ; and though many, I believe, extend it to the eastern hill also, so as to make it include all modern Jerusalem, still, when called upon to specify more distinctly which they mean, they point to the western hill. It was there that stood and stands the church of Sion,—the gate of Sion ; and there too, because it was Sion, stands the tower and sepulchre of David ! But what is the value of this modern evidence ? It is not easy to rate it low enough ; but if I wished to exemplify how worthless evidence could be, I do not know where I could look for better examples than among the testimonies on which the Eastern Christians have applied ancient names to modern places, and fixed the localities of almost every sacred and historical event in every corner of Palestine, but more especially in this our Holy City of Jerusalem.

PART II.

ON THE SITE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

THE proposition which I have undertaken to prove in this part of my work,—which is neither more nor less than that the building so well known among Christians as the Mosque of Omar is the identical church of the Holy Sepulchre, erected by Constantine,—is one that has never, that I am aware of, been broached by any traveller or speculator up to this day; and is, consequently, at first sight, so manifestly absurd and improbable, that many will, no doubt, on the simple announcement of such an hypothesis, throw down the book at once, and rest perfectly satisfied that they have, at best, got hold of a piece of ingenious mystification, or the dream of some visionary speculator,—perhaps some covert attempt to shake the general faith in Christian tradition, by showing how much may be advanced in support of so monstrous an absurdity. It is not for me to decide on my own case. It may be all this, or a great deal more: all I ask is a fair and patient hearing; and I think, after perusal of the book, the reader will admit that I have at least brought forward some evidence of a startling nature in support of what I advance,—that my theory is at least perfectly consistent with all that is contained on the subject in the New Testament, and that there are indications, both local and historical, which are reconcileable with this view, but which are utterly unintelligible when applied to the old theory.

Whether, however, I am right or wrong in what I am going to advance, I agree with Dr. Clarke, and many others, in thinking that the idea that the present church contains the sepulchre of Christ, is too absurd to merit serious refutation; and I do not believe it would be required but for a hiatus in the arguments of all those who have opposed it,—in their not being able to say, or even hint, where the true Sepulchre was, and where the various scenes of the Passion were

enacted; and till this is done, I fear it is not in human nature to admit any argument, however reasonable; for there is, and always has been, in the human mind, or at all events in a certain class of human minds, a principle of idolatry which has given form to the faith of millions of millions, through thousands of years, and which requires that, for the calling forth or exercise of their faith, some tangible object should be presented to their corporeal senses,—whether in the form of a relic,—of a holy spot with which an act may be associated,—or a graven image which will represent what the mind is too lazy to conceive,—and which requires in this instance a sepulchre, and it matters little whether it be the true one or not; it answers their purpose. To me this appears to be the real flaw in the argument; and unless it is supplied, men will twist and torment facts and evidence till they make it quite clear, to their own minds, that what they wish to be true must be so.

Dr. Robinson, who is now the great champion of those who oppose the authenticity of the present church as the site of the Sepulchre, candidly admits his inability to supply this necessary link to complete the chain of the evidence; for he says, “If it be asked, Where then are the true sites of Golgotha and the Sepulchre to be sought? I must reply, that probably all search can only be in vain:”¹ and while this is the case, it is little to be wondered at that the idolaters should cling to the image they have got, rather than accept the infidel alternative that there is no Sepulchre,—no spot towards which they may turn to fix their thoughts and locate their belief; and men of Mr. Williams’s class will persevere in believing what their reason tells them is not true, rather than not believe at all, though few will have the honesty to confess, as he does, that he follows this system knowingly and on principle.²

The argument regarding the site of the Holy Sepulchre divides itself naturally into two parts: the first, local, which consists in the necessity of finding a site which shall perfectly accord with the incidents mentioned in the New Testament; the second, historical, or an examination of the evidence on which Constantine was enabled to

¹ ‘Biblical Researches,’ vol. ii. p. 80.

² ‘Holy City,’ p. 308, *et passim*.

ascertain correctly or otherwise where that site was, three centuries after the event.

The first and great exigence, however, of any theory regarding the Holy Sepulchre is, that it should perfectly accord with the indications of the New Testament: unfortunately, they are only indications,—so slight, that nothing positive can be concluded from them directly in favour of any system; but their negative power is much more distinct, and quite decisive, it appears to me, regarding the present church.

I have marked on the map, with three crosses, the spot where I believe the crucifixion took place, about 150 yards from the north-east angle of the Temple. I do not mean to assert that this is the spot, within a few yards, but it is near it—quite near enough for my present purpose. To identify this with the Scriptures, it is necessary to bear in mind that, at that time, the third wall, or the one which runs past the spot just outside it, was not in existence at the date of the crucifixion, and was not built till twelve or thirteen years after that event, by Agrippa: the place, therefore, was most undoubtedly “outside the city.” It was also “towards the country,” and it was also free from houses, as is easy to see from the narrative of the siege, by Josephus, though it is not distinctly said so,—except, perhaps, in one passage already quoted, where it is stated, that when Titus held a review of his troops on the north side of the city, the people looked on “from the old wall and the north side of the Temple;”¹ and as the ground rises from the north side of the Temple, all the way to the camp of the Romans, had even a hut a few feet high stood there, it would have so impeded the view, that they could not have seen the Romans from that spot. If it is suggested that it is improbable that a spot so near the city and the Temple should have been left unoccupied by houses, it is perhaps sufficient to answer, that we know from Josephus that it was so; but I think I can also suggest a reason why it should be so, which is simply, that it was Golgotha,—the great cemetery of the Jews.² As Mount Sion, it probably contained

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. ix. 1.

² “And burned it at the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof on the *graves* of the children of the people.”—2 Kings, xxiii. 6.

the sepulchres of David and his descendants, as I have already attempted to point out in a previous part of this work, and with a mass of evidence that appears to me to admit of very little doubt on the subject; but whether this is the case or not, we know at least of one sepulchre erected here, very nearly about the time of which we are speaking; for Josephus distinctly states that "John and his faction defended themselves from the tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the Temple, and fought the Romans before the monument of King Alexander;"¹ and if it was a cemetery, it necessarily was without the walls; and no Jewish ruler would ever dream of enclosing it, though a less scrupulous Roman, looking only to the defence of the post, would naturally carry the wall to the brow of the hill.

But a stronger point of agreement than even this, is the proximity of the spot to the judgment-seat. It is true we cannot prove that the residence of Pilate was in the *Turris Antonia*, but there are many passages in Josephus which lead at least to a very strong presumption that the Roman governor did reside there; and that there at least was the *Prætorium*,² in which Jesus was mocked and crowned with thorns. But even if this should not be so, there existed in this quarter of the city, near the north-west angle of the Temple, the *Xystus* and the council-house; and it was, from the time of David to the time of which we are speaking, the Forum of Jerusalem, where all their public transactions were carried on; and there is no spot that I know of, in Jerusalem, where the scenes of the Passion could have been enacted, except here; nor has any one suggested any other with better claims than this one: and if this is the case, to have gone towards the present church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jesus must have passed through the streets of the town, through the very heart of Jerusalem, which I think I am justified in asserting he did not; but they went at once out at the gate, and met Simon coming from the country, who bore his cross.

But it is perhaps needless insisting more on this part of the argu-

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. vii. 2. Is this Alexander Janneus, whose splendid funeral is mentioned, *Antiq.* Book xiiii. chap. xvi. 1?

² St. Mark, xv. 16.

ment, as every one is familiar with the facts as recorded in the New Testament, and can compare the localities I have marked on the plans with those passages which narrate the events. As far as I can judge, there is not one vestige of a difficulty in the argument, as derived from the Bible, as to the place I have assigned to the events of the Passion, which accords in the minutest particulars with the Bible narrative, without one single objection or doubt; while, on the other hand, if we assume the present church to be the true site, the difficulties are so great, that though they may be explained away, or slurred over, even the most out-and-out advocates of its authenticity admit that there still remain difficulties which it is not easy (I would say not possible) to get over: and though this, of course, does not prove that I am right, it at least is strong presumptive evidence in favour of my views, and will prove a very satisfactory confirmation of them, if, from other circumstances, I am able to establish them more clearly.

There are, however, two incidental circumstances which I may mention here, as throwing some light on the locality: the first is the execution of Athaliah, which took place certainly not far from this spot. She was thrust out of the Temple, "for the priest said, slay her not in the house of the Lord: so they laid hands on her, and when she was come to the entering of the horse-gate, by the king's house, they slew her there."¹ So it must have been very near this spot that she was slain; and I am inclined to think that this was not accidental, but that it was the regular place of execution, from the second circumstance which I have now to mention; which is the identification of *Goath* with *Golgotha*, or *Gol-goatha*, which is so strongly insisted upon by Krafft² on etymological grounds, of which I am not capable of expressing an opinion; but as he appears to be a very perfect Hebrew scholar, and his arguments derived from this source have not been contradicted, I see no reason to doubt their correctness, at least his translation of the word *Goath*, which he makes the hill of death, or rather "of violent death,"—the place, in

¹ 2 Chronicles, xxiii. 14, 15; 2 Kings, xi. 16.

² The *gol* means, apparently, heap—sphere or skull-shaped—whence the Greek translation *κρανίου τόπος*,—and the identification, therefore, rests on the last syllables.

short, where malefactors were executed.¹ The word Goath occurs, I believe, only once in the Bible,² in the passage above quoted from Jeremiah, (p. 68,) which appears to me most distinctly to place it in the immediate proximity of the horse-gate; and from the passages quoted in the same place from Nehemiah, and the books of Kings and Chronicles, it appears quite evident that the horse-gate was near the Temple, and on the north side of it. I think there can be little doubt that Goath was situated where I have placed it; and if it and Golgotha were one and the same place, it is at least a satisfactory collateral evidence that it was on the eastern side of the city, and near the Temple.

It is not so easy to dispose of the historical part of the argument, which consists in estimating correctly whether there existed, from the time of the crucifixion to the time of Constantine, a sufficient body of tradition to enable him to ascertain correctly the spot where Christ was crucified, and the sepulchre was in which he was laid. I will not attempt to go through all the authorities here, as this has been often done before, and nowhere more distinctly than by Chateaubriand in the second *Mémoire* attached to his '*Itinéraire*;' the whole argument of which is very fairly stated by Dr. Robinson,³ though he quotes it only to reject it, and I quite agree with him on the grounds on which he does so; for however strong a chain of argument may seem, I do not think any one is bound to accept it, if it leads to a conclusion manifestly absurd, even though he cannot quite point out where the chain is weak; and more especially if he finds the same argument leading to an acknowledged error, in a precisely

¹ '*Topographie Jerusalems*,' pp. 158, 170. He has (page 28) attempted to identify Goath with the gate Gennath of Josephus, on the authority of some old MSS., but, I think, without a shadow of proof to support his reasoning. Gennath is a good Hebrew word, and an appropriate name, about which there can, I conceive, be no mistake; and so universal in all the Greek MSS. of Josephus, many of whose writers could have known little of Hebrew, that one exception can prove nothing.

² There is considerable difficulty in making researches of this sort in the Bible for want of a good index, which does not exist, as far as I am aware. Cruden's Concordance, which is one of the best, does not contain the word Goath, and in fifty instances does not contain *all* the references to particular names.

³ '*Biblical Researches*,' vol. ii. p. 71, *et seq.*

parallel case which Dr. Robinson thinks he has done in the circumstance of the Church of the Ascension being built on the Mount of Olives instead of at Bethany, whence, according to St. Luke, Jesus ascended into Heaven. I think, however, that the Doctor overlooks the passage in the Acts of the Apostles, which, though not so distinct as that in Luke, certainly would appear to countenance the idea that Mount Olivet was the scene of the ascension.¹

Be this as it may, I think both Chateaubriand and Dr. Robinson omit to state what to me appears the most essential part of the argument,—and that is the age in which the circumstances narrated took place. For we must bear in mind, that during the first three centuries of the Christian era, the Roman empire was still a civilized community, and that the intellectual philosophy which had its rise in Greece still existed among the educated classes, both in its parent country and in Italy, and men reasoned on events with almost as close an induction as we use now; and the historical criticisms of at least the earlier part of that epoch have scarcely been surpassed even to the present day. It would not suffice then, as it did a few centuries later, for an idle monk to invent a legend to supply the place of history; or, if he wished to fix the spot where an event took place, merely to assume the one that was most convenient for his purposes, and silence all inquiries by asserting that an angel had appeared to him and revealed the fact; or, wishing to identify a relic, to appeal to the miracles that were wrought by any and every old bone. Men who did these things in the first three centuries of Christianity would have been laughed at as idiots or stoned as impostors: in the following three, the thing became both common and profitable; and during the next three, these, and things ten times more improbable, were enacted in every village of Europe; and the narration of absurdities of this class forms the literature of those truly dark ages: so that what would scarcely be worth quoting after the fourth or fifth centuries, even in corroboration of a fact ascertained from other sources, may be regarded as history, and reasoned upon, if occurring before the death of Constantine.

¹ Acts, i. 12.

Even here it is astonishing how sharply we can draw the line between the age of inquiring reason and that of blind faith; for the invention (most properly so called) of the "true cross" was to those ages what the printing press or the steam engine have been to ours, —the great discovery that gave them form and utterance. It was, in fact, the foundation stone of the Roman church of the Middle Ages. The laity were ignorant and barbarous, and engaged in cutting one another's throats. The clergy were busy multiplying relics, and inventing fables to make them saleable, and thus to increase their own wealth and power; and they found these means more directly answering their purpose than either book-making or cotton-spinning have proved to their more matter-of-fact posterity.

Between these two ages stands Eusebius, the last of the historians, though not perhaps quite entitled to the rank of first of the fabulists. In his works, it is true, some extraordinary miracles are to be found, but he does not assert them with the unblushing effrontery of his successors; on the contrary, in relating, for instance, the notable one of the Labarum, which afterwards became so completely a matter of history, he merely says that Constantine narrated the circumstance to him, and confirmed his statement by an oath.¹

At the same time it must be borne in mind, that it will not do to discredit the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre by Constantine, by quoting the invention of the cross by his mother, and the false miracles that were then and there performed; for there is no contemporary proof that the cross was either searched for or found by the pious Helena, and that it was known or suspected to be in existence till after the death, not only of Constantine and his mother, but of both Macarius and Eusebius. The latter does not allude to it, nor does the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem at this time: their silence is, at least, strong presumptive proof that it had not occurred when they wrote; and in the absence of a single testimony to the contrary, I think we may safely venture to acquit the empress or her son of any share in the transaction, which took place apparently during the episcopacy of Cyrill,² A. D. 348-68;

¹ Eusebius in *Vita Const.* i. xxviii.

² Cyrill, *Epist. ad Const. Cat.* x. 19.

though it is not till the beginning of the next century¹ that we can trace that the invention of the cross, of which Cyrill is the first to speak, is ascribed to those whose names have since been so inseparably mixed up with these absurdities.

Though, therefore, we stand on the very verge of fable land, at the time when Constantine determined to build the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, I think we may safely vindicate him and his friends from the obloquy these transactions necessarily entail, and in consequence be inclined to give more credence to the fact that they knew where the Sepulchre really was, and that they did build the church over the spot.

The mode in which the discovery is mentioned by Eusebius² does not seem to indicate that there was, at his time, any doubt about the locality, which, at some period nearer the event than his, and when, probably, therefore, it was better known, had been marked by the erection of a temple of Venus being built on the spot, apparently on purpose to conceal it from the Christians, and to make it appear, when they approached to reverence the Holy Sepulchre, that they were worshipping "the impure spirit." Afterwards, the erection of this temple was ascribed to Hadrian,³ but without any distinct authority for the assertion, that I am aware of. That emperor, it is true, built a temple of Jupiter on the site of the temple of Solomon,⁴ and the statues he erected there were still standing when the Bourdeaux Pilgrim visited Jerusalem,⁵ and apparently even afterwards, in St. Jerome's time.⁶ Besides, Hadrian made war on the Jews, not on the Christians; and though it is probable he would elevate the temple of

¹ Rufinus is, I believe, the first to mention it in connexion with Helena's name. He died A.D. 410, or thereabouts.

² Vita Const. Book III. chap. xxv. *et seq.*

³ Hieron. Epistola ad Paulin.

⁴ Dio Cassius, lxi. 12.

⁵ 'Iter Hierosolymitanum,' p. 591. "Sunt ibi et statuæ duæ Hadriani."

⁶ Hieron. Comm. in Esaiam, ii. 8: "Ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei ibi Hadriani statuæ et Jovis idolum collocatum est." Comm. in Matt. xxi. 15: "De Hadriani equestri statua quæ in ipso sancto sanctorum loco usque ad presentem diem stetit."—Another and very convincing proof that the Jews had the means of ascertaining where the Holy of Holies was when they fixed their wailing-place, which they had done before Jerome's time.

his God on the spot where the temple of their God had stood, it is scarcely consonant, either with what we know of his actions, or the spirit of his age, that he would erect a temple of Venus over a cave,—a tomb,—which what was then an obscure sect revered as the tomb of their founder. The question, however, is not one of importance, nor one which the evidence seems quite sufficient to determine definitely: the principal point is, was it erected there, knowingly, to annoy the Christians? and did the Christians in the age of Constantine know that that temple did cover the Sepulchre? I think myself that the balance of evidence is strongly in favour of an affirmative answer to these questions.

The argument has recently been put into a new form, and very distinctly, by the author of 'Greece under the Romans.' In a short but well-written pamphlet on the 'Site of the Holy Sepulchre,' Mr. Findlay contends, "that in no department of the civil administration was the superiority of the Roman system of government over that of modern states more conspicuous than in the mass of statistical information in the possession of the executive power;"—"that so perfect was the census throughout the wide extent of the Roman empire, that every private estate was surveyed;—maps were constructed, indicating every locality possessing a name; and so detailed, that every field was measured;"¹—and then, after proving from St. Luke² and Ulpian³ that this census and survey had been applied to Palestine, he contends that it is impossible that Constantine could have been mistaken with regard to the position of the Holy Sepulchre or of Golgotha.

From the facts stated previously regarding the population of Jerusalem in this work, I confess I have very little confidence in any census the Romans may ever have taken of Judæa; for though Josephus may have exaggerated designedly, Tacitus could have had no such motive, and he must have had access to the registers, had they existed: still I do believe that the boundaries of property were well defined, and registers kept, describing every field and house, and

¹ 'Essay on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre,' p. 36.

² St. Luke, ii. 1-5.

³ Pandects, i. tit. xv. 1, 6.

more especially every thing in the immediate proximity of the capital of a Roman colony, as Elia Capitolina was in the time of Constantine; so that I do think it more than probable that he possessed the means of ascertaining the fact beyond all doubt: indeed, the narrative of Eusebius seems to pre-suppose that such information did exist, for there is no doubt or hesitation apparent, either in the mind of the emperor or the historian, as to where the place was. The order was sent to destroy the temple that stood on the spot, which being done, the Sepulchre appeared;¹ and there is in the narrative no mention whatever of any doubt on the subject, nor of any miracle being necessary to prove it. It could not have been done in a more matter-of-fact or business-like way in the present day; and it is only fair to suppose that some ordinary means did exist for ascertaining the fact, or we should have surely found some allusion, however indistinct, to the extraordinary means resorted to, had they been necessary. If, however, for the sake of argument, we admit that the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea was too insignificant to be mentioned in the registers, and, consequently, that it is improbable the argument could strictly be applied to it, Golgotha was a place that must, I conceive, have been mentioned; and if it was Goath, and the ordinary place of execution, which I see no reason to doubt that it was, it must have been at all times one of the best known spots about Jerusalem, and one as likely to have retained its name, in the time of Constantine, as any other;—so much so, that it appears to me almost a work of supererogation to go to the register, or any remote argument, for its fixation; and even supposing all Christian tradition to have been silent, and no registers to have existed, I cannot but think that Constantine might easily have ascertained the knowledge he sought, of the exact position of that spot, and from that at least known whereabouts the Sepulchre stood,—if he could not point out exactly the identical cave in which the body was laid. My own belief is, that he had the means of ascertaining both, but most certainly that of Golgotha. At the same time, it is as clear to me that he could not have looked for it where

¹ Vita Constantini, III. xxv. *et passim*.

it is now said to exist in the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre; but I trust, from the arguments hitherto adduced, and those I am now about to bring forward, I shall be able to make it clear where he did look for it, and where he found it.¹

The account given by Eusebius of the quantity of earth these "impious persons" had to bring, and the substructions they had to raise, before they got a level space on which to erect their idol temple,² plainly indicates that they had to cover up, not only a cave, but a rock of some size and height, projecting from the level surface of the land, and in which that cave existed; and the uncovering of it again bears the same interpretation. This, however, is clearer in his 'Theophania'³ than even in the Life of Constantine, where he says, "The grave itself was a cave, which had evidently been hewn out."—"For it is astonishing to see even this rock standing out erect and alone on a level land, and having only one cavern within it; lest, had there been many, the miracle of him who overcame death should have been obscured." To my mind, he could not find words to describe more distinctly the Sakrah; but if applied to the little

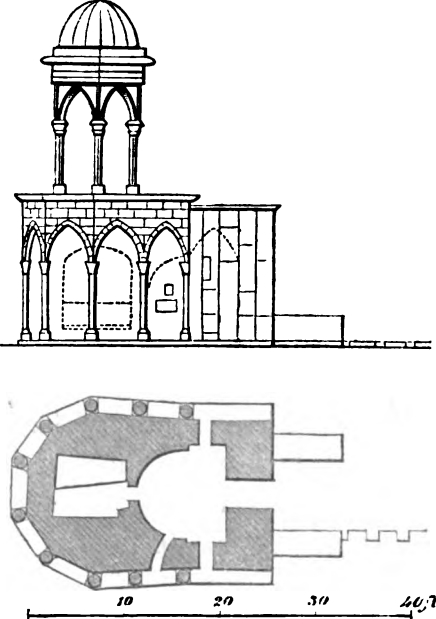
¹ Mr. Findlay uses his argument, derived from the correct statistical information at the command of Constantine, to prove that the present church stands over the tomb and place of crucifixion of our Lord; and so satisfied is he with his premises, that he conceives his conclusion to be inevitable. I wonder he did not see that the stronger they were, the more impossible his conclusion became; and that if it is quite certain that Constantine knew where the sacred spot was, it only became clearer that the present church does not stand on the site of the one erected by him; and I desire no better support for my assumption than Mr. Findlay's pamphlet, and if I could go the whole length of his premises with him, would consider the case proved without further argument. For it appears to me, that the only excuse for the present church being the church of Constantine, is that he knew nothing about the matter: but if it is quite certain he did know, which I believe to be the case, it is equally so that he built his church where I have placed it, and not where it is now shown. Perhaps the best description of Mr. Findlay's argument is contained in his dedication, which runs thus: "To Jas. Mac Gregor, Esq., this Essay on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre, is affectionately inscribed by his brother, Geo. Findlay." That Geo. Findlay should be the brother of Jas. Mac Gregor is a conclusion I should not have arrived at, nor would any one else, I believe; and though he ought to know best, I must confess my inability to comprehend it.

² Vita Const. III. xxvi. *et seq.*

³ 'Theophania,' translated by Dr. Lee, p. 199.

structure now called the Sepulchre, which is neither a rock nor a cave, not one syllable of it is applicable or intelligible.¹

I may also mention here, that the position of the cave on the Sakrah exactly corresponds with the indication in the Bible narrative, for the Evangelists all agree that those that came to look for the body of Christ "looked down into the Sepulchre," which they must have done in the Sakrah;—but in the modern building, the tomb is several feet above the pavement of the church; and if that pavement and the filling up were removed,—which, I presume, did not exist at the time we are speaking of,—they must have stood on their tip-toes to have looked in. The annexed section and plan² of the present Sepulchre will show that it accords as little with Eusebius's description as with common sense.



If these expressions of Eusebius are tolerably conclusive as regards the appearance of the rock and cave, there are some a little further on that, I think, ought to be nearly, if not quite conclusive

¹ The out-and-out advocates for the identity of the present Sepulchre insist that it is a cave in a rock, but that the rock has been cased with stone both inside and out: as, however, according to all the plans I have had access to, Mr. Williams's among others, the rock with its casing is in some places only 2 feet thick, and nowhere more than 5, and the casing cannot be less than 9 inches to a foot on each side, it would have been easier for the impious men to have removed it in toto than to have covered it up: half a dozen men would have accomplished the job in a week.

² From Bernardino Amico: 'Trattato delle piante ed immagini de' Sacri edifizii di terra Santa. Roma, 1609.' The most singularly correct work for its age that I have met any where, and which represents most correctly the Sepulchre before the fire of 1808. As far as the argument is concerned, I should have preferred Mr. Williams's plan.

as to its position, when he says,—“Accordingly, on the very spot which witnessed our Saviour’s sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed *over against* the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation. It was *opposite* this city that the emperor began to rear a monument of our Saviour’s victory over death, with rich and lavish magnificence.”¹

If, in the first place, we attempt to apply these words to the present Sepulchre, taking only the ruins that now exist, we have the tower of David on the south, the ruins near the Damascus gate on the north;² and if a line is drawn between these two, it will pass directly over the church of the Holy Sepulchre: and besides these, we have the ruins described by Dr. Robinson,³ at right angles to those to the north-east of the church (the Kasr Dschalud or Hippicus); and, lastly, abundance of remains to the southward and eastward. At the time of which we are speaking, it is more than probable that the three towers left by Titus, and the western wall, were still existing, besides many remains of the old city, of which all trace has been lost during the devastations of the last fifteen centuries; and few cities have undergone more than Jerusalem. But even now, sufficient exists to show that the site of the present Sepulchre could never be said to have been “over against” the old city; and taking the plans even of those most favourable to its claims,—that of Mr. Williams, for instance,—it stands in an angle with the city on its south and on its eastern sides, and even then cannot in any way meet the exigencies of this description of Eusebius.

On the other hand, if we refer to Josephus, we find him almost echoing this description, for he says, “The city lay over against the Temple in the manner of a theatre;”⁴ which is fully borne out by an inspection of the plan; and I know no other spot about

¹ Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iii. xxxiii.

² Dr. Wilson traced these remains of old Jewish masonry in the present city wall for 300 feet from the Damascus gate to the westward, towards the tower I have called the Hippicus; and I have little doubt now but that with attention they could be traced all the way.—*Lands of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 421.

³ ‘*Biblical Researches*,’ vol. i. p. 471, *et supra*, p. 37.

⁴ *Antiq. Book xv. chap. xi. 5.*

Jerusalem where a city could be founded which would admit of such a description, except the one where the Temple stood, and the Dome of the Rock now stands. Indeed, so distinct and circumstantial does this testimony appear, that it would be scarcely worth while to search further, were it not for another passage in Eusebius, which at first sight certainly seems to bear a different interpretation. It is in the 'Onomasticon,' under the word Golgotha,¹ where it is said that "the Sepulchre is situated on the northern parts of Sion." The Latin of Jerome is a literal translation of the Greek, but at best it is a mere assertion, without any detail or circumstantial evidence by which to test its credibility, and just such an expression as any meddling monk or commentator, copying the book after the first Crusade, might easily alter, supposing it to be a mistake, if he found it so completely at variance with the known locality of the place, as it then stood. But even supposing this was not the case,—is it so clear that Eusebius did not mean to describe the Dome of the Rock as existing on Sion? In the sixth century, Antoninus Martyrus distinctly describes the Valley of Jehoshaphat as lying between Mount Sion and the Mount of Olives;² and though I think that generally, when the Christian writers are called on to decide between the two hills, they call the western one Sion, in contradistinction to the old or Jewish Sion, yet it is not clear what the boundaries of that hill were, and often I am inclined to think they apply the word to the whole city. If, however, called upon to elect between the two expressions in the Life of Constantine and in the 'Onomasticon,' supposing them to be at variance with one another, (which is by no means clear,) after all the consideration I can give the subject, I have no hesitation in declaring for the former as by far the most pointed and circumstantial, least likely to be altered, and as describing most completely the objects in question.

Before going further, I may as well here, as afterwards, mention one other passage I have met with in the course of my reading on

¹ Onomasticon.

² Antonini Mart. Iter, p. 14; "Vallis Josaphat—quæ vallis est inter montem Sion et montem Oliveti posita."

this subject, which it is difficult to understand, and which might be enlisted against me, without apparently any violence to its meaning; and as I wish to state the argument with as much fairness as it is capable of, I give it at length below,¹ as it is found in the Journey of the Bourdeaux Pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem about the year 333. The name and circumstances of this author are quite unknown; so we have no means of testing his credibility or otherwise beyond his itinerary, which is a mere list of names of places, with their distances, except in the Holy Land, and more especially at Jerusalem. From these circumstances it might at first appear that these descriptions were interpolated by another hand, at a later period; and that they were of little value, if found at variance with other indications; but after long consideration of the subject in every light, I think it must be admitted that they were written by some person who visited Jerusalem about the time indicated.

He begins his description at the Pool of Bethsaida, then describes the Temple and the Jews' wailing-place; for it seems that affecting custom existed even then:² he then ascends Sion, reaches apparently

¹ *Iter Hierosolymitanum*, ed. Wesseling, p. 592, *et seq.* "Intus autem intra murum Sion paret locus ubi palatium habuit David et septem Synagogæ quæ illinc fuerunt, una tantum remansit reliquæ autem arantur et seminantur sicut Isaïas Propheta dixit. Inde ut eas foris murum de Sione euntibus ad Portam Neapolitanam, ad partem dextram deorsum in valle sunt parietes ubi domus fuit sive palatium Pontii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est antequam pateretur. A sinistra autem parte est Monticulus Golgotha ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta ubi corpus ejus positum fuit, et tertia die resurrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini Imperatoris, Basilica facta est, id est, Dominicum miræ pulchritudinis, habens ad latus exceptoria unde aqua levatur et balneum a tergo ubi infantes lavantur. Item ab Hierusalem euntibus ad portam que est contra orientem ut ascendatur in montem Oliveti vallis quæ dicitur Josaphath ad partem sinistram ubi sunt vineæ, est et petra ubi Juda Scarioth Christum tradidit, a parte vero dextra est arbor palmæ de qua infantes ramos tulerunt et veniente Christo substraverunt. Inde non longe quasi ad lapidis missum sunt monumenta duo monubiles miræ pulchritudinis facta. In unum positus est Esaias Propheta qui est vere monolithus in alium Ezechias rex Judæorum."

² May not the "lapis pertusus" which puzzles commentators so much be explained by the following remark of Mr. Tipping. In describing this place, he says, "The joints of the lower courses are much worn, for I observed several aged women wailing with their heads completely buried in these perforations."—Traill's *Josephus*, Introduction, p. xlv.

the tower of David, and the remaining one of the seven Synagogues, and then seems to say, that one going to the Neapolitan gate will leave the Prætorium on his right, and the Sepulchre on his left hand. The question hinges on the position of the synagogues and of the gate: for the former, I fear, we have no data whatever; and it is not a little singular that no author, either ancient or modern, that I know of, mentions a gate with that name, except this Pilgrim. It appears to me there are only two suppositions that can fix its situation; the first, that it is the gate leading to Nablus, and therefore the Damascus gate, or one near it;—the other, that it was a gate of the New City—the New Jerusalem of Eusebius. If the former, it would militate against my view of the position of the Sepulchre; and therefore I state it so distinctly. I think at least as many reasons might be advanced for the one as the other: had it been the name of the Damascus gate, it would have surely re-appeared in some subsequent writer, which it does not. On the other hand, from the expressions of Eusebius, Constantine at least wished it to appear that their city was the New Jerusalem, the Neapolis, *par excellence*; and one of its gates may have received the name of the “gate of the new town,” though it lost that distinction when the two towns were confounded, which they always afterwards were; a view of the matter which is perhaps slightly confirmed by Josephus, who says that Bezetha (the part of the city lying north of the Temple), if interpreted into the Grecian language, may be called Neapolis, “the New City.”¹

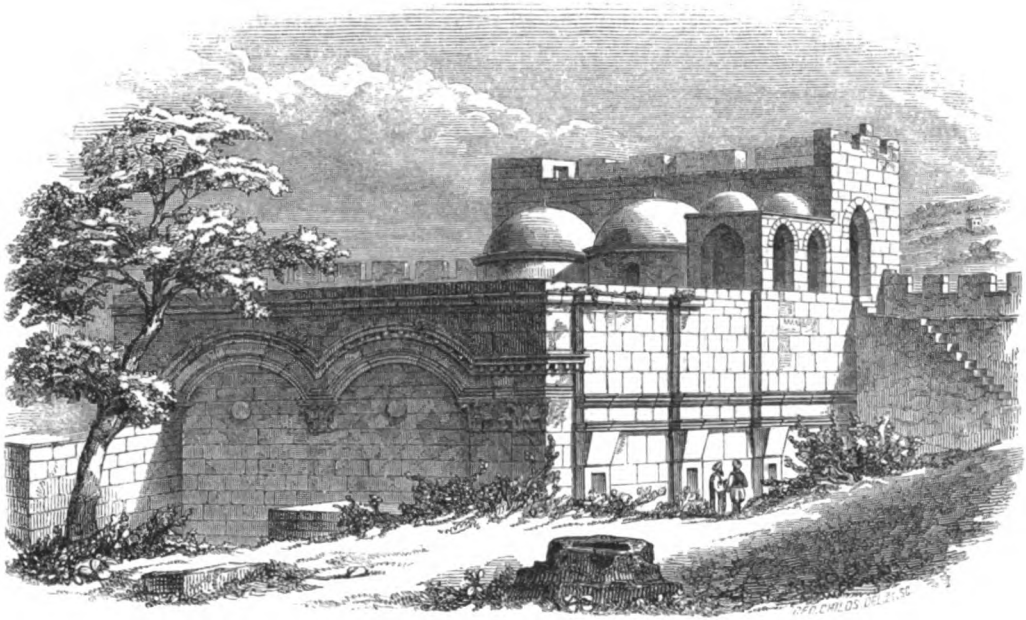
But a stronger confirmation is found in the narrative of the Pilgrim himself, who, immediately after this, completes his tour by going out of the city through the eastern gate, which must either have been the Golden Gateway, or one to the southward of it, because he has the Garden of Gethsemane—the knowledge of which is handed down to us by unbroken tradition—on his left hand, and the palm-tree on his right, within a stone’s throw of the tomb now known as that of Absalom.

As I said before, these are the only two passages I have met

¹ Jewish Wars, Book v. chap. iv. 2.

with that I cannot perfectly understand and explain: to the one in the 'Onomasticon' I am inclined to attach very little importance, as it is more than counterbalanced, in my opinion, by the one in the Life of Constantine. The other is, I confess, puzzling, but far from conclusive; and even if it were ten times more distinct than it is, I would unhesitatingly reject the testimony of an anonymous pilgrim, when placed in contradiction to the mass of evidence which exists on the other side;—if, indeed, I am not, after all, fighting with a shadow, for the words in the text, "*ut eas foris murum de Sione euntibus ad portam Neapolitanam,*" on which the whole question hinges, are such an indifferent specimen of Latinity, that I think, with a little ingenuity, they might be translated so as to mean any thing.

BUILDINGS OF CONSTANTINE.



THE GOLDEN GATEWAY.

THE next class of evidence which must be brought to bear on the argument is that derived from the architectural character of the buildings themselves, which is what first led me to take the view I do of the age of these buildings, and, to my mind, is far more important and conclusive than all the written evidence that does or could exist on such a subject.

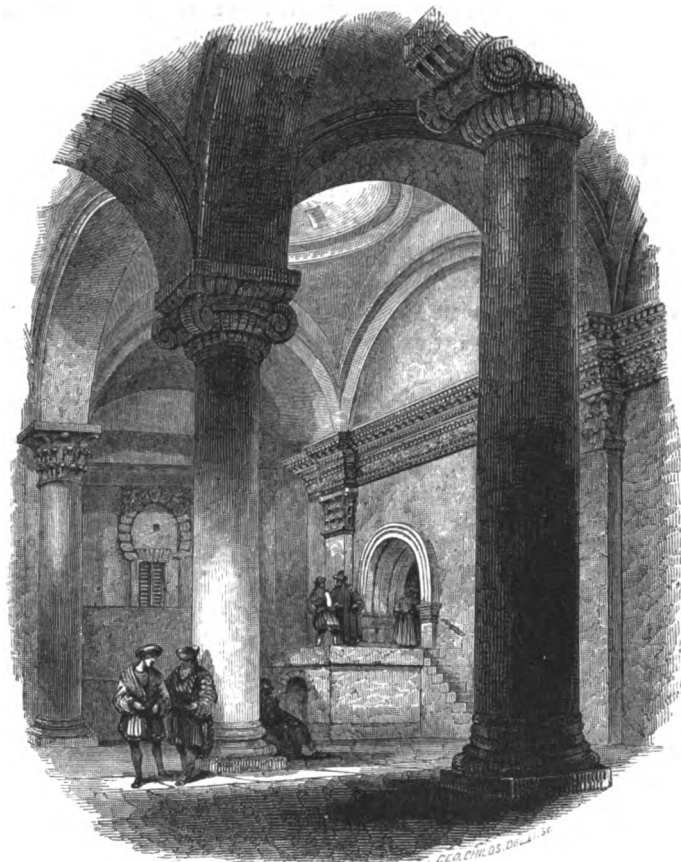
It is only recently that the value of such a testimony was even suspected by the learned, and even now it is seldom appreciated as it should be. In England, however, as far at least as the Gothic styles are concerned, it has so completely superseded all other evidence, that we almost forget the time when such strange dates were attached to our cathedrals, from what appeared to be the most irrefragable documentary evidence; and every tyro in archæology can distinguish between the Norman, Early English, Decorative, and Perpendicular styles, and tell at what period the one was introduced or gave place to the other. But in France they have not yet reached even that stage, or are only opening their eyes to the facts of the case; and within the last very few years, books have been written to prove,

on documentary evidence so complete and positive that it is impossible to refute it, that the cathedrals of Tournay, Laon, Chartres, Coutances,¹ &c., were built, some one, some two, and even three centuries, before or after the true period of their erection. Looking to the buildings alone, there can be no mistake as to the date of any one of these churches, or of any part of them; but if you turn to the records, you meet with contradiction on contradiction, till you get into a labyrinth from which no clue can free you; and this with regard to buildings erected in our own country, by our own people, and ten centuries nearer our time than those we are now speaking of!

¹ Coutances was long a favourite battle-field of the antiquaries, who proved most incontestably, from documentary evidence, that the cathedral was built and dedicated in the first half of the eleventh century, though every one now admits, (and on the authority of the building alone,) that it was erected in the first half of the thirteenth, except the side chapels of the nave, which are even more modern. Tournay still asserts its documentary antiquity against the plain and positive evidence of facts, and is still generally believed to be at least two centuries more ancient than it really is; though if it were in England, our antiquaries are now so *au-fait*, that they would easily settle the date of every part, without asking to look at the documents so often quoted. But to my mind, the most singular instance of ignorance on this head is regarding the cathedral of Chartres, which is still believed to be, at least in great part, the church erected by Fulbert in the eleventh century; whereas all that remains of that church, in the present edifice, is the door-posts of the west front up to the imposts, and some of the substructions of the towers. Eastward of the towers, there is not one stone, either in the crypts or above ground, that could have been placed in its present position before the latter end of the twelfth century, and the whole was erected between that period and the year 1364, occupying rather less than a century. What is still more singular is, that the whole width of Fulbert's nave, including its centre and two side aisles, is comprehended in the width of the present central aisle of the nave, though this has never been observed, but will be, when archæology is better understood in France.

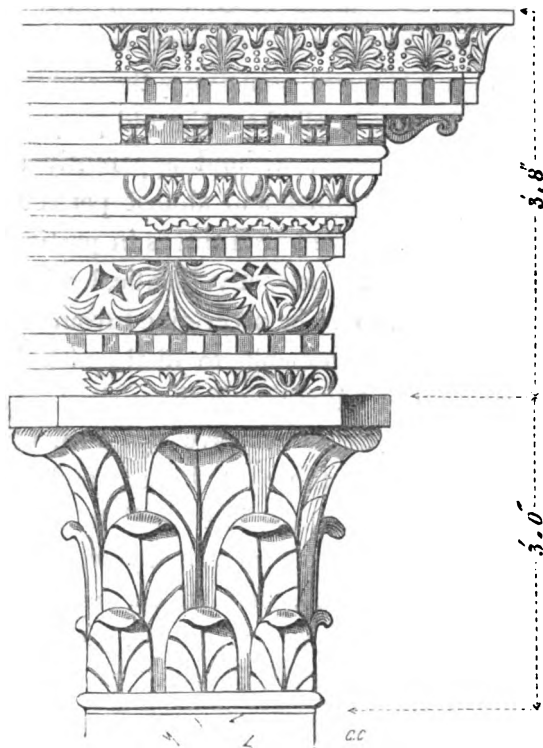
To a person thoroughly acquainted with Gothic architecture, these things are plain and intelligible at first sight, though it is not easy in a foot note to make it clear to those who have not studied the subject practically how they are so, and I am not now going to attempt it: all that I have to observe here is, that this argument, derived from the stones (*the ipsissima saxa*) themselves, has gradually throughout Europe served to correct and rectify the dates arrived at from other sources; and I think I am safe in asserting, that in almost every instance it is better evidence than the other; and that however distinct the documentary evidence may, at first sight, appear to be, no sound antiquary would admit it, if contradicted by the known forms of the architecture of a certain epoch; and I feel perfectly certain that what is true, in this respect, of Gothic, is almost more so with regard to Roman, Grecian, Egyptian, and Indian architecture,—indeed, with all the styles I am acquainted with.

In tracing the progress and decline of any style of architecture, in any part of the world, and in any age anterior to the seventeenth century, when once the mind has become sufficiently familiar with the forms, there is no difficulty in framing a scale which will indicate the position of any example between those that precede and follow it; and when a sufficient number of examples is collected, if some of these have ascertained dates, those of the rest may be at least approximatively known. In England, as I said before, this has been done for Gothic,—is being done in France for the same style; and though the materials are fewer, and the latter part of the scale has been comparatively neglected, it is tolerably well understood for the period of the decline of art from the age of Augustus to that of Justinian; and it is this scale that we must now attempt to apply,



INTERIOR OF THE GOLDEN GATEWAY.

in the first place, to the Golden Gateway, which has been ascribed by different authors to Herod, Hadrian, Constantine, or Justinian, as suited the views of the writer. It could not, however, have been built by either of the former two; for we have abundance of examples of the age of Hadrian, none of which show so great a discrepancy from the pure classical examples of the Augustan age as this,—none so great a tendency towards the forms of decoration and construction of the Middle Ages; and without going so far as either Rome or Athens for our examples, we have at Baalbec the Temple of the Sun, built by his successor, Antoninus Pius,¹ in which the Corinthian order retains its Vitruvian arrangement and proportions; and at Palmyra we have an immense number of examples, some of which, it must be allowed, if not the greater part, belong to the age of Zenobia and Aurelian; but in no one single example in that city,—in none at least which have been published, — are such mediæval forms adopted as in this gateway; and I think I am safe in asserting that before the age of Constantine none do exist any where. On the other hand, it as certainly cannot have been built by Justinian; for though we have not so many of the buildings of his age, and many that we have are only very carelessly edited, we have tolerably perfect sketches of St. Sophia, and carefully



¹ Joan. Malalæ, Hist. Chron. lib. xi.

detailed drawings of San Vitale and San Appolinare¹ ad classem at Ravenna; and as they were built more immediately under the influence of the classical examples, if they deviate more than this remote specimen from their classical prototypes, we may safely assume that this is not of his age. In none of his buildings do we find such a continuous horizontal cornice as exists in both sides of this gateway, or such regular Corinthian pilasters as those that exist both inside and outside, more especially the latter, where the order has almost classical forms and proportions.

If, on the other hand, we turn to the age of Constantine, we have first, in the palace of Diocletian at Spalatro, just such a state of transition between the classical and mediæval forms as we find here: in the entablatures, sometimes the architraves, sometimes the frieze, is omitted; and in all these the old proportions are varied and changed most capriciously, without apparently any fixed rule or guide, but with a most singular and almost perfect resemblance to those found here.² The curved architraves in particular, on the outer face of the gateway, are so perfectly identical with some of those at Spalatro, that, as far as can be ascertained from the drawings at my command, it would be impossible to distinguish between them, and certainly impossible to tell which is the earliest or latest specimen of the two.

Unfortunately we have no authentic building of Constantine himself, except those at Rome, and they are either basilicas or tombs, and would not do so well to compare with this; and besides, they were made up principally with pillars and details torn from earlier monuments, and which consequently are of no use to us in the present inquiry: as far, however, as they go, they fully confirm the conclusion arrived at from an examination of those of Diocletian.³

¹ Agincourt, 'Histoire de l'Art,' tom. iv. p. xxiii.; Quast, 'Baukunst der Alten zu Ravenna;' Isabelle, 'Edifices Circulaires;' Gally Knight, 'Ancient Architecture in Italy,' &c., &c.

² Adams's Spalatro, *passim*, but especially Plates VIII. XIII. XIX.

³ At one time I intended to place wood-cuts of details, taken from these buildings, in juxtaposition with those given above; but on the whole, I believe a reference to the original plates will be more satisfactory, and I have therefore abandoned the idea.

Another point of importance with regard to this gateway is, that it is not, though placed in the city wall, a city gate, or, in other words, a gate meant for defence; for it projects from the wall, and has no flanking defence whatever of any sort, which all gateways for defensive purposes, that I know of, most undoubtedly had. On the contrary, it is entirely open from side to side, two great openings being separated only by a slender pier, which one blow of a battering-ram would have brought down, and the whole superstructure with it. Its interior too is totally unfit for the purposes of war or defence, and I think that any one who will look at the illustrations, will admit that it was not meant for such purposes, but was a propylæon or festal entrance to some public building.

That it was such, and of the age of Constantine, appears to my mind as clear as the sun at noon-day; and if this is so, the inevitable conclusion, I think, must be, that it was the double gateway described by Eusebius as leading to the atrium of the basilica of Constantine,¹ the inner face being the gates of the atrium, the outer, the entrance gates of the whole work,—a specification that applies exactly to this gateway, but to no other that I know of any where. Besides all this, the view shows, I think very clearly, that some such building as the atrium must have been attached to its inner flanks, which are lower than the gateway itself; for the difference in height between the order in the sides and in front is unmeaning and motiveless, as far as I can see, unless the lateral one was that of the colonnade which joined on here. I may also observe that the upper cornice of all runs just so far along the sides as it could be seen from the atrium, though this is of slight importance; but all these circumstances taken together surely make out a very strong case.

To those who are not accustomed to the examination of evidence of this sort, and are unfamiliar with the styles of that early age, the argument derived from the coincidence of design and detail with that of other buildings of the same epoch, will scarcely, at first sight, appear so strong and irrefragable as it does to me; but it is one to which I can appeal with confidence, knowing that all those who will

¹ Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 111. xxxix.

take the trouble of making the requisite inquiries, or who are familiar with its force, must in the end be convinced ; and all I can attempt here is to point out the facts, and lay them before the reader, and he may verify them as easily as I have done ; and if he will do so, I have little doubt of the conclusion at which he will arrive. For myself, had I stumbled on this gateway in any part of the Roman world, I should never have hesitated two minutes in making up my mind that it was a propylæon or festal entrance of the age of Constantine. I never could have supposed it to be a city gate, nor built many years either before or after the time named ; and finding it in Jerusalem, where it now is, I do not know what it could or can be, except what I have assumed that it is ; for there is not a vestige of a tradition even that Constantine ever built any thing in Jerusalem except that one group of buildings to which this, if by him, must have belonged.

The position of this gateway in the wall of the Haram has proved a matter of difficulty which no traveller has yet been able to explain ; for it is more than a thousand feet from the southern extremity, and not four hundred from the upper end of the enclosure. If, however, the north wall of the Temple, according to my restoration, is produced till it meets the outer wall of the Haram, or rather, if such a wall runs at right angles to the wall of the Haram, which is more probable, to the north-east angle of the Temple, it will be found that the golden gateway stands almost exactly half-way between that wall and the northern wall, certainly within ten feet of the centre ; but I have only the small plan to take these measures from, and therefore cannot be certain within a few feet, nor is it of the least importance that I should be so in this instance : these measures are quite near enough to show how my restoration of the Temple fits into both the ancient and modern enclosures, and how, when once the correct measure is obtained, the whole dovetails together.

THE BASILICA.

But if this is the gateway, where, it may be asked, is the Basilica? To use the words of William of Tyre, “usque ad solum diruta;”¹ or, according to the quainter expression of Albericus, in speaking of its destruction by El Hakeem, “solo coæquare mandavit,”²—a mandate that seems too literally to have been carried into effect, for not one trace of it exists, either here or any where else; and we are therefore left entirely to Eusebius for our knowledge of its form and appearance, and unfortunately the separate work he wrote, or promised to write,³ describing it, does not exist, and the description of it in the Life of Constantine is neither so full nor so clear as might be wished.

Its situation was apparently exactly in the middle of the upper temenos or enclosure, of which it was the principal ornament. I have hesitated long whether I should place the Basilica at right angles to the eastern wall, or parallel to the southern one, and have, in the restored plan, adopted the latter hypothesis, as by this means it is placed at right angles to the Anastasis; and the great court, the Paradisus, is rectangular, which I think it is probable it was. It is true that in doing this the axis of the golden gateway and that of the Basilica are not quite coincident, but I do not think that of much importance in the architecture of that age, where exact parallelism of lines and exact right angles (as at Spalatro, for instance,) were by no means the fashion;—but is the golden gateway at right angles with the wall of the Haram? To make it coincident with that of the Basilica, it only requires the angle to be increased from 90° to 93°, and in so short a line the naked eye would not detect this; and Mr. Catherwood might easily have overlooked it, unless his attention was specially called to it.

I have restored the ground plan of it on Plate VI. as I understand the description of Eusebius, though I question if I have made it so large and splendid as his description would lead us to believe it was;

¹ William of Tyre, lib. i. cap. iv.

² Albericus Monachus in Chronico Leipsii; and Le Quien, Oriens Christ. p. 475.

³ Eusebius, Vita Const. iv. xlvi.

but big words cost him so little that I cannot help suspecting some exaggeration here; and as no dimensions are given, either by him or any other author I am acquainted with, there must always be a great deal of guess-work in any restoration of this sort. Except the dimensions, however, I think there can be very little doubt that the general arrangement was such as I have adopted, which is as nearly that of the two great Roman basilicas of this age,—the old St. Peter's, and St. Paul's without the walls,—as the description of Eusebius and the circumstances of the locality would admit. There might, it is true, have been a transept at the western end, near the apsis or hemisphairion; but as he expressly says that the aisles or porticos were the same length as the church,¹ I have omitted it, as more consonant with the text.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

This church was then, as long afterwards, called the Martyrium, or testimonial, in contradistinction to the other, or round church, called the Anastasis, or Church of the Resurrection, from its containing the Sepulchre from which Christ arose on the third day. The former did not apparently stand over any holy spot or place. Indeed, the early basilicas, I believe, never did; they were, in fact, the places of assembly,—the halls in which the bishop met the clergy and people,—while the round church was the tomb, the baptistery, or relic shrine of the place. The one was, in reality, as it was called, a basilica, in the sense in which the word was understood by the pagans, from whom it was borrowed; the other, the church,² in the sense in which we now understand the word. They were, it is

¹ Vita Const. III. xxxvii.

² The usual derivation of the word *kirk*, *kirche*, or *church*, which is very nearly universal in all languages of the Teutonic, and in many of the Slavonic class, from the Greek words *Κύριον οἶκος*, is as untenable historically as it is etymologically; for it does not occur in the Latin, whence our forefathers got all their ecclesiastical terms; and besides, it is always originally a one syllable term, afterwards sometimes increased, for the sake of euphony, to two. I am indebted to my friend Mr. Norris for the suggestion that it may be derived from the word *circus* or *circulus*, or, as the French have it, *cirque*, which at all events is very much more probable.

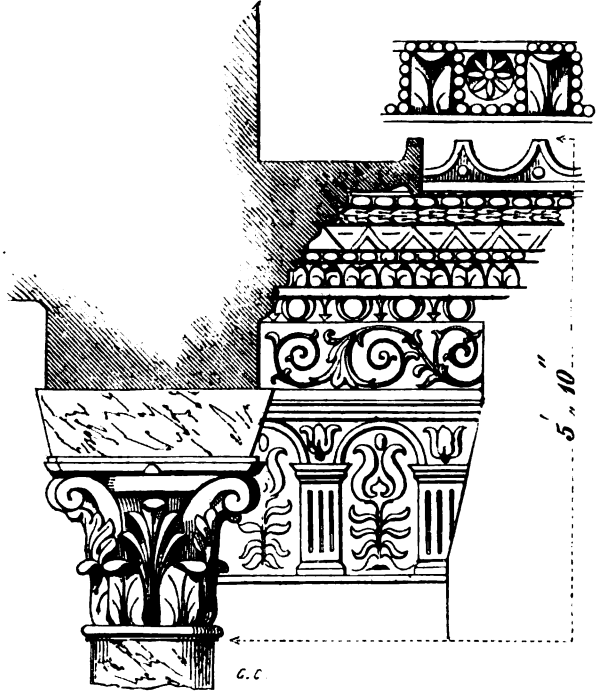
true, always placed near one another, and in after times the original purposes became confounded, and at last (in England at least) entirely changed; for with us the round building became the chapter-house or place of deliberation, and the basilica, that of ceremonial worship. But I must not be led into an antiquarian disquisition, which would be out of place at present, when it is sufficient to know that Constantine did erect two separate churches,—one a basilica, the other a round church; and that this last did contain the rock in which was the Sepulchre, and is, I believe, most undoubtedly, the building now known to Christians as the Mosque of Omar, and to the Mahometans as the Dome of the Rock.

The principal evidence on which the proof of this must rest is the architecture, as in the case of the golden gateway; but here the question assumes a somewhat different form, for it is not now wanted to prove that the building was or was not built by Hadrian, or Constantine, or Justinian, but whether it was erected by Constantine or the Mahometans. No one, I believe, claims or can claim it for the first of these emperors, and no one, that I know of, except Sæwulf,¹ ever claimed it for the latter. The question therefore rests between the two religions; for if any one chooses to claim the honour for Justinian, he equally proves my proposition, that it was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; for certainly that emperor did not erect any church over any rock with a cave in it, in this city, though he may have repaired or rebuilt that of Constantine, of which, however, there is not a shadow of proof, so far as I am aware.

Annexed is a section and elevation of the capital and entablature of the order of the outer range of columns, which are the least altered; and, besides being the most complex, are the most perfect part of the building. Comparing it with that of the gateway, it will be seen that though differing in some respects, they are similar in style,—this being the richer and more elaborate, as might be expected from the nature of the building in which it is found. The capitals, however, are nearly exactly alike,—bearing in mind that the one belongs to a pilaster, the other to a pillar; and the en-

¹ 'Recueil de Voyages, publié par la Société Géographique à Paris,' tom. iv. p. 840.

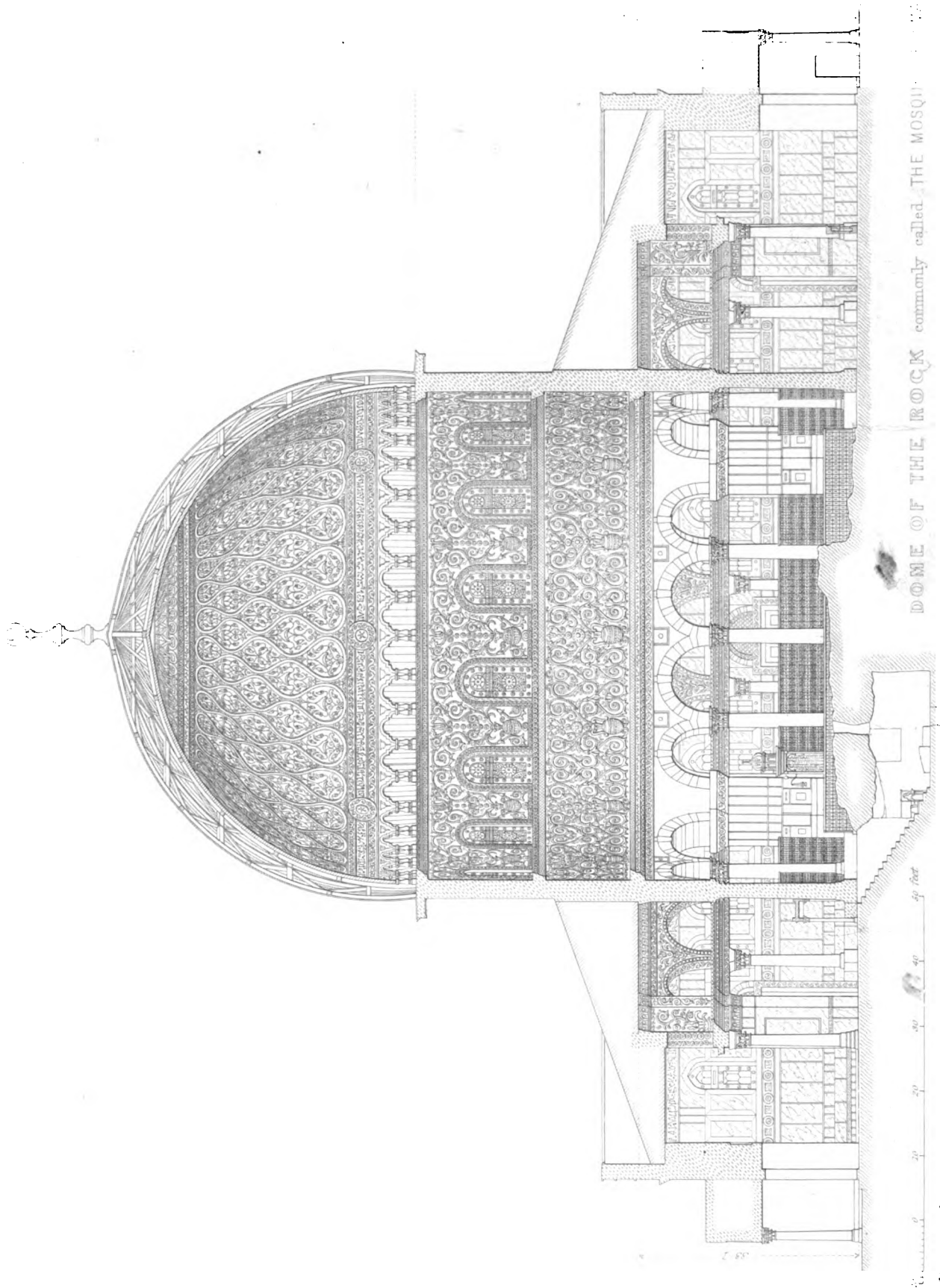
tablature shows just such a jumble of the members of the Augustan-Corinthian order as we find in the other, and in all the architectural details of this age of transition. The sort of frieze of dwarf pilasters with little arches will be easily recognized by any one familiar with the Roman sarcophagi of this age; and the ornaments on the spandrels of the arches over these entablatures and in their soffits, are, so far as can be judged from the drawings extant, very similar to those on the



spandrels and soffits of the basilica of St. Paul at Rome,—perhaps more still to those in the older part of the San Lorenzo fuori le mura (A. D. 580), where a scroll of this sort rises from a vase;¹ and in all the buildings whose dates range between those of these two, all the spandrels that retain their original ornament have something very like this; but the drawings of all are so imperfect, that too much stress must not be laid on this.

The mode in which the entablature is used here is peculiar, perhaps unique; for though, as, for instance, in the baptistery of Constantine at Rome, and elsewhere, we have such an entablature running over a lower and below an upper range of pillars, I know of no instance of a discharging arch being used as this is. It is, however, exactly such an instance of the use and mixture of two styles of

¹ Gutensohn and Knapp, 'Die Basiliken Roms,' Plates V. & VI.; and Gally Knight's 'Architecture in Italy;' but I believe his plate is copied from the other.



Measured & drawn by F. Pradier

John Ward, July 1847

architecture as one would expect to find in an age of transition like that of Constantine, combining the horizontal or trabeate architecture of the earlier age with the arcuate or arched style, which, by the age of Justinian, had entirely superseded and obliterated the former.

The inner range of pillars is similar to the outer, but their arches or imposts have been painted at some period by the Mahometans, in their favourite style of alternate dark and light streaks; but above this, up to the springing of the dome, all is again of the same style of ornamentation which is so familiar to the student of the old Roman basilicas. It is true there is no band of scroll-work, that I can point out, which is exactly similar to the one which here occupies the place that, in a more modern style, would be called the triforium; but its general features will easily be recognized as late Roman, and as totally dissimilar to any thing the Mahometans ever did; and in this instance our inability to point to an exactly parallel case arises, I believe, only from the circumstance, that in all the old basilicas,—St. Peter's, before it was pulled down,—St. Paul's, before it was burnt,—Santa Maria Maggiore, San Lorenzo, San Apollinare, &c.,—this band has, or had been, replaced by pictures in fresco or mosaic, all avowedly more modern than the building itself, but which had obliterated the original ornament they replaced.

One or two instances, however, do occur of something very similar; the first on the two lateral apses of the vestibule of the baptistery of Constantine, which I have no doubt was built by him; though, because he was not baptized, some have supposed it was erected subsequently. The semi-domes of these are covered with just such a scroll pattern, of great beauty, running into exactly the same forms,¹ as nearly as can be, bearing in mind that the one is domical, the other flat. The other example is in the apse of the basilica of San Clemente at Rome,² where it is found so similar to the one here, that it may be said to be almost identical.

The church of San Clemente was originally erected in the fourth century, but is generally supposed to have been entirely rebuilt in the

¹ Isabelle, 'Edifices Circulaires,' Plate XXIX.

² Gutensohn and Knapp, Plates XXXII. and XXXIII.; and in Weale's 'Architectural Papers,' vol. iv. Plate IV. of Monography of this Church.

eighth, though on the original plan, and the frescos of the apse to have been added in the thirteenth. I feel convinced, however, that we have now the original apse, with its ornaments, except the cross in the centre, which is an interpolation of the thirteenth century; to which age also belong all the paintings on the front of the arch: the nave may belong to the eighth, and the choir to the ninth century; indeed, they probably do so, for their style of ornament is so manifestly distinct from that on the apse of which I am speaking, that they cannot belong to the same age, and so far go to prove my position; and if, on the other hand, any one will compare this scroll with that on the apse of Santa Maria Maggiore, which does most undoubtedly belong to the age to which that of San Clemente is usually ascribed, I think a little observation will convince him, that in the one he has an almost classical type, and in the other, a very bastard imitation, just such a one as occurs in Rome continually, in most of their mediæval attempts to copy classical features.¹ But be this as it may, the facts still remain, that this scroll is classical, or nearly so, and very similar to what is found in Christian churches, I feel certain, of that very age,—though some may contend for a more modern date,—and that nothing like it is found among Mahometan buildings, either of this or any other age.

Above this band, the scroll is repeated, with very slight variations, between the sixteen windows of the clerestory, which are round-headed, and filled with perforated slabs, as all those of the basilicas of this age are. It would require a drawing on a larger scale to make their details intelligible, but as I have nothing to compare with them, I will not say more of them here: I may, however, mention that the perforations are filled with painted glass of great brilliancy, which may or may not be a common adjunct to buildings of this class. I have never seen it in a Mahometan religious structure of any kind, nor do I know of one that possesses this ornament. The church of Helena, however, at Bethlehem, still retains some of it, and so does St. Sophia at Constantinople; but these are or were Christian buildings, and in them its presence is naturally to be expected.

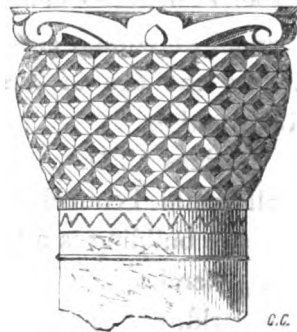
¹ Compare in Gutensohn and Knapp's work, Pls. XXXII. XXXIII. with Pl. XLVII.

There is only one other architectural peculiarity which I shall allude to here,—though there are many that might be pointed out, were I describing the building and its style, instead of merely pointing out its age and destination,—and that is the ceiling of the side aisles, as represented on the frontispiece. Even those least acquainted with the peculiarities of the style must, I think, admit that it is singularly Roman in its character and distribution ; so much so, that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to fix on any period when it could be erected between the age of Constantine and the revival of the Roman style, in the sixteenth century, in Italy : but this revival has not yet extended to Syria ; and, so far as the Mahometans are concerned, they never, in any age or any country, erected a building with a ceiled roof of this or indeed any other sort,—certainly, so far as my knowledge extends, in no one single instance. Every where they displayed the beams and constructive parts of the roof, and the ornament, whether of colour or carving, was applied to the beams and wood-work directly, and never with an intervening ceiling. I of course do not pretend to know all the buildings the Mahometans erected during the Middle Ages ; but so far as my knowledge of buildings and books goes, I make these assertions most unhesitatingly. At the same time, I admit it is rather a startling fact, to find in a building so often burned down,—according to the chroniclers,—the very original ceiling with which it was erected fifteen centuries ago ; but I cannot see any second hypothesis by which to explain its architectural peculiarities, for it appears to me to be, both in form and detail, the most complete and perfect building of the age of Constantine now existing in any part of the world ; and I shall be surprised if, before long, it does not resume its place as the mother church,—the first and most sacred of the churches of Christendom.

Altogether, this architectural evidence is so complete, that no one who looks at the drawings and knows any thing about the matter, will doubt for an instant that the pillars and entablatures, at least, must have belonged to buildings erected anterior to the first year of the Hejira, even if he should not be able to make up his mind as to the exact period of their being executed ; and the only reasonable mode of getting over the difficulty is to suppose that the Mahometans

used up the materials of some older building in erecting this, as they are known to have done elsewhere. I think, however, that an inspection of the frontispiece, and Plate I., will prove this to be an untenable hypothesis in this case; for it is not only the details of the pillars and their entablatures which belong to this more ancient style, but those of the eight piers between them, which are very complicated in form, and could not have been found or transported from another building: but round all the sinuosities of these piers this entablature runs; and both below it, down to the ground, and upwards to the roof, the detail is all of the same age, all fitting exactly to the place where it is applied, and complete and appropriate in every part. The cornices under the roof too, on both sides, and the roof itself, are all parts of the same design; and the idea that the Mahometans could any where have found that quantity of straight, of circular, and angular pieces of these details, in any other edifice, is, it appears to me, one of the most improbable that can possibly be conceived, even if any one could name the edifice from which they were obtained,—which it would be difficult to do; for at the age at which this building was constructed,—supposing it was built by the followers of the Prophet,—no destruction of the edifices of the Christians had taken place, from which such a supply of materials could have been obtained. But what was the age in which the Mahometans built this temple? Here is the great difficulty of the case. It certainly was not that of Omar; for what he built at Jerusalem was the little vault to the eastward of the Aksa, which to this day the Mahometans call the Mosque of Omar, though another tradition would make him the builder of the Mosque of the Mogrebins. None but Christians, and those of a late date, ever thought of ascribing this building to him; it was done without authority, and has been continued without thought. If you ask a Mahometan now-a-days, who built it? he will answer, “Abd el Malek, who built the Aksa in the end of the seventh century;” and certainly if he did not build it, no Mahometan did, for it is not, and cannot be, more modern than his time; and it could not well have been smuggled into existence during the first seventy years of the Hejira, without either the Mahometans or Christians knowing something about it. That this Chalif built the

Mosque el Aksa, is with the Mahometans an undoubted fact ; and, I think, as I shall presently show, they are quite correct in this matter. But assuming this for the present, if any one will compare the view of the interior of the Aksa with that of the interior of the Dome of the Rock, I think he must perceive that the latter is the more ancient building, or the one that in all its details approaches nearest to the classical forms. In the Aksa, it is true, there are some pillars borrowed or copied from earlier buildings ; but their capitals are some of one shape, some of another, many of a basket form, unknown to Christian architects of any age, but found in many Saracenic buildings of the first century of the Hejira ; and where pillars were not forthcoming, piers of all shapes and sizes have been introduced, without either regularity or design. Instead of the rich entablature of the Dome of the Rock, we have here only a wooden beam,—the arches are stilted and highly pointed, and altogether we have a piece of Saracenic patch-work, such as is frequently found in this part of the world, as any one knows who is at all familiar with the mosques of Alexandria, Cairo, or Upper Egypt, where Roman pillars and details have been used up in the earlier centuries of the Hejira, precisely in this manner ; the best and most authentic specimen of which is perhaps the Mosque of Amru at Old Cairo, where the Roman orders have been used in exactly this manner, presenting a various assortment of capitals and shafts, enough to drive an architect mad, all supporting arches more or less pointed, and connected by just such a wooden beam as this.¹



Capital in Mosque el Aksa.

On the other hand, the Dome of the Rock is of a very beautiful design, complete and uniform in all its parts and details, and this no Mahometan building is that I know of, till the period when they abandoned the employment of borrowed classical details, whose use

¹ Coste, 'Architecture Arabe,' Plates II. and III. ; Girault de Prangey, 'Monumens de la Syrie et Egypte,' Plate I. *et seq.*

they did not understand, and took to framing a style of their own, which task they completed during the eighth and ninth centuries ; for it was perfect when the Mosque of Ibn Touloun was built at Cairo, A.D. 876 ; but then it was a pointed arch style, without pillars or entablatures, and with a system of ornamentation peculiar to itself, and of which there is not a trace in any part of the one we are now speaking of, except, indeed, the dome. But even in the earlier ages, when appropriating classical fragments, I do not know of one single instance of their ever using an horizontal entablature, either as it is used here, or indeed in any other way. But the proposition may be stated even more generally ; for I believe there is no instance of an original horizontal entablature being employed to connect two pillars, during the age of Justinian, or at any subsequent period till the Reformation.

Besides all this, the plan of this building is very peculiar, and in itself would, I conceive, form very strong grounds for the presumption that the building is a tomb-house of this age, and not a mosque ; for as a general rule it may be assumed that all structural tombs, all over the world, are more or less circular, at least if within any thing like a moderate distance of time and race from those of which we are now speaking ; and the converse is nearly, though not quite so true,—for almost all circular buildings are or were tombs—even those which we now call baptisteries being generally originally erected for tomb-houses ; and there are many points of resemblance between this and the tombs of Italy of the same age, which I might point out, if it were worth while. The building, however, which it most resembles is the San Stephano Rotondo at Rome, which is not generally supposed to be either a tomb or a baptistery, though antiquaries are much puzzled to make out what it is, and have not yet made up their minds on the subject. The last and best opinion is that of the Chevalier Bunsen, who assumes it to be a Christian building of the end of the fifth century.¹ So far I go with him ; but I believe it to be a copy, and a tolerably exact one, of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem. If any one will compare the plans and details either in

¹ Bunsen, 'Die Basiliken des Christlichen Roms,' p. 37.

Agincourt,¹ or Gutensohn and Knapps' work,² with those here given, he will understand what is here meant.

The building consists of an inner circular range of columns of very nearly the same diameter as this, but, in the Roman example, supporting an entablature which, with its columns, appears to have been borrowed from some earlier building: above this rises a drum, but never intended to support a dome, or more than a light wooden roof, and pierced with sixteen windows, as this one is; the whole arrangement being so similar, (except indeed the inferiority arising from the more modern age of the San Stephano,) that I am half inclined to believe that the Dome of the Rock had a straight-lined roof till the Mahometans changed it to a dome, though the introduction of the four great piers into the colonnade at Jerusalem looks as if something more important was intended than in the other. The middle range of columns at Jerusalem becomes octagonal, being arranged in straight lines between the eight great piers that form its angles: at Rome the colonnade is divided into eight compartments by just such piers, but does not lose its circular form; and the outer wall retains the same outline, while at Jerusalem it is and probably always was octagonal. In short, if any one will carefully examine the Plates of the two buildings to which I have referred, I think he must admit that the two buildings are wonderfully similar; so much so, that I cannot see how the conclusion can be avoided, that the one is a copy from the other; and if so, or indeed whether this be the case or not, I do not think it admits of a moment's doubt but that the Roman example is the more modern of the two, notwithstanding the classical details which it has borrowed from earlier buildings.

I feel quite certain that in no Mahometan country, from the mouths of the Ganges to the Guadalquivir, and in no age, did any Mahometan erect a mosque of this form: the thing is an anomaly, an absurdity; it is to my mind like talking of a perpendicular pyramid or a square circle. To me it appears strange how the idea could have been suggested. There are octagonal tombs, it is true, though not many, and only, I think, in India; but this the Mahometans never

¹ Agincourt, 'Hist. de l'Art par les Monumens,' tom. iv. Plate XXII.

² Gutensohn and Knapp, Plates XIX. and XXI.

called a tomb, nor connected any such idea with it. In short, if we assume it to be a Mahometan building, in detail, form, and proportion, it is utterly anomalous, and unlike any thing any Mahometan ever did in any part of the world: if, on the contrary, we assume it to be a Christian building over a sepulchre of the age of Constantine, all becomes consistent and intelligible; certainly, as far as the edifice itself is concerned, there is not a single difficulty in the way.

To this I shall have occasion to return more than once in the sequel, and I will not therefore insist more on it now; but there is one peculiarity which I must point out before leaving it, which will startle our northern antiquaries, and with many be thought to tell heavily against my theory,—which is, that all the arches throughout the building are more or less pointed,—so slightly, indeed, as not to be visible in the section, but they are so in the perspective view: to be quite sure, however, on the subject, I wrote to Mr. Arundale regarding it: his answer was, “I think I can set your fears quite at rest concerning the form of the arches. The arches under the dome, and those of the aisle, are both *slightly* pointed; so much so, that when reduced in the section, it would scarcely be evident, but would be very apparent when viewed in perspective. I have a memorandum of this on both sketches made on the spot.” Those who have been brought up in the Western school of antiquarian faith, and who believe that the pointed arch was an invention of the Christians of Europe of the twelfth century, will be surprised to find it in a building of the fourth century. I have not myself, I confess, found it before in one of so early a date; but I am delighted to do so now, for every increase of knowledge has enabled me to trace it higher and higher; and I have very little doubt that when the buildings of Syria and the East are more carefully examined than they have been, it will be admitted as an undoubted and fundamental fact.

I must not be led here into a disquisition on the origin of the pointed arch, but I must add that the Mahometans never—in the East—used any other, with the very rarest and almost accidental exceptions, from the first years of the Hejira to the present day; and without travelling beyond the limits of this book, I may refer to the view of the interior of the Aksa, built and finished entirely in the

seventh century, in which all the constructive arches are pointed throughout: and if it is contended that some of the smaller ones are repairs,—which, however, I do not believe they are,—the great arches of the dome are at least part of the original building, and they are as pointed as those of York Cathedral; and any one who knows how slowly architectural styles are invented, and what ages it takes before any new form is gradually adopted, will easily understand that this cannot be the first, nor indeed the hundredth example; and that it must have been long used before it became so essential a part of the style as it is here found. In France even, it was not generally adopted till after the middle of the 12th century, though it was frequently used at least two centuries earlier; and in the West they change more rapidly than in the East. In the West, the pointed arch was introduced as a vaulting and constructive expedient, and but for that it never would have become a characteristic of the style as it did. In the East, this exigence had no influence on its adoption; but, so far as I can see, it was used as a transcript of the form of the horizontal arch, with which they had been familiar from the times of the tombs at Mycenæ, to the time when they learned to use voussoirs instead of brackets, in vaulting their roofs or arching their openings.

The exterior of the building does not contain much that will serve either to confirm or invalidate this theory. Up to the height of about fifteen feet, it consists of a series of oblong panels (seven on each side), separated by plain pilasters, and this story terminated by a small modillion cornice,—all which looks like very Early Christian architecture of a pure and very elegant type, and totally unlike any thing Mahometan, unless of a very late date. I have not, however, seen the details of this drawn to a sufficiently large scale to speak positively on the subject; and I do not think it important, for it is probable the walls may have been cased externally when the upper parts were rebuilt; so that if the details should be found to be of Mahometan architecture, it would prove nothing: but my own belief is, that they will be found to be pure Christian, and thus tend to confirm my theory, as far as they go; but the internal evidence is so much more important, and it appears to me so complete, that I feel very little interest in knowing which it is.

Above this, the upper story has five windows in each face—forty altogether—of an obtusely pointed form; but the whole of this story has been, if not rebuilt, certainly re-cased by the Mahometans; and as it is not therefore of any importance to my argument, I will not say more about it here. Mr. Arundale has all the details, and from them its age could easily be ascertained. As far as I can guess, from a very cursory glance I had at them, it appeared to have been done at about the age of Selah ed Din, the contemporary of our Richard Cœur de Lion, but I have not entered upon the inquiry with any care, and this opinion is a mere guess on which I myself set no value. Interspersed with the ornaments are numerous inscriptions, all of which were, I believe, copied by Mr. Bonomi, and they would settle the point at once, as they appear to be integral; and though they probably only contain sentences from the Koran, the form of the letters would be almost as certain a guide to their age as the details of the architecture.¹

The parapet above this appears to be of even more modern date. But the latest addition to the building is the dome, which, both externally and internally, is of pure Mahometan architecture, and is known to have been erected, or at least most thoroughly repaired, by Sultan Solymán the Second, one of the Mahometan rulers of Constantinople. Externally, it has no architectural feature,—but internally, any one who will look carefully at the section (Plate I.) will, I think, perceive at once the difference in the style of architecture above and below the springing of the dome; all in the coved part being as distinctly and purely Mahometan, as all beneath it is certainly Christian.²

¹ I have verbally asked Mr. Bonomi more than once regarding the age of these inscriptions, and he informed me that they only contain sentences from the Koran, and are all in the modern Arabic character; and when I referred him to those of the mosque of Ibn Touloun at Cairo, which are of the ninth century, he was perfectly clear that the inscriptions of that mosque were written with the old Cufic letters, and these with the modern form, which is exactly what I should have expected from the architecture of the two buildings.

² Dr. Clarke thought he saw the opus reticulatum of the Romans in the walls or substruction of this mosque, and founds a good deal of theory on the observation. I have not, however, seen this confirmed by any subsequent observer, and many have had as good opportunities as he had; and I therefore presume he must have been mistaken;

I do not know if I have succeeded in making all this as clear to others as it is to myself. To me it is irrefragable, and it seems that it only requires to be stated fairly to insure belief; for I cannot understand how any one can read the above without being convinced that the building is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, erected by Constantine;—and consequently it appears to me quite a work of supererogation to proceed further with the argument, and I would not do so were it not that I stand so utterly alone in this matter; and I cannot but think, therefore, that there is something not so easily comprehended in this mode of argument, and that other proofs must be sought in order to insure belief. Perhaps, however, the explanation of this difficulty may lie in the fact that all those who have hitherto taken part in this discussion, have chosen, most unaccountably, to narrow the argument, by confining it to the first three centuries after the crucifixion. With all, the whole question has been—whether Constantine knew or did not know where Golgotha and the Sepulchre were; and that being argued and settled according to the author's satisfaction, no further inquiry has been deemed necessary: the architectural details have not been looked at, and, as we shall presently see, the mediæval historians slurred over in a manner quite unaccountable. When a passage was met with that did not accord with the author's views, it was merely affirmed to be inexplicable, or unworthy of notice, and so passed over; whereas, even on the most cursory view of the matter, it appears that if any difficulty or mystery existed regarding the site of the Sepulchre, its solution ought to be looked for rather in the avowed falsifications of traditions and localities in the dark ages, than in the earlier and more critical ages of the Church. To me it is like the solution of an enigma: once the answer is known, we wonder at our own stupidity in not being able to find it out before; and I cannot help thinking that, once the ground of discussion is changed from the period before the age of Constantine to the Middle Ages, the case will appear to others as clear as it does to myself. At all events, I think that

but if correct, it would go far to confirm my view of the matter.—See 8vo. edition of Clarke's Travels, iv. p. 386, *et seq.*

those who after this undertake to argue this point, must change the form of the argument, from a weighing of the probabilities as to the knowledge of the localities which existed in the age of Constantine, to a discussion as to whether the church that emperor erected was the building now called the Mosque of Omar, or the one that now claims that title. Had any one previously stated it in this form, I feel convinced it would have been settled long ago ; and I believe it now only requires to be so stated, with such proofs as I have adduced, to be set for ever at rest.

During the two centuries that elapsed between the age of Constantine and that of Justinian, the history of Jerusalem is almost a blank, and I am not aware of the existence of a single itinerary or description that is of the smallest use in the present inquiry. If, however, the voluminous works of all the Fathers of this age were carefully read through for this purpose, I have little doubt but that incidental allusions might be found, which would throw some light on the subject ; but it is a task for which I have not either the leisure or the inclination, as I feel by no means sure that the result would be successful,—or that any remark which seemed to bear on the subject might prove to be either intelligible or trustworthy. In the meantime, however, I have carefully turned to all those passages referred to, either by Dr. Robinson or Mr. Williams, or indeed any other author whose references could be depended upon ; but of all the passages they quote, I find only two that seem to bear directly on the subject in hand. For the first I am indebted to Mr. Williams : it is from Dositheus, and is as satisfactory as could be wished, and as distinct. In it he says, that on account of the steepness of the ground, or of the valley or hill to the westward of the Sepulchre, it had nothing there but its own wall, intimating that on this account the basilica was placed to the eastward of it ;¹ which, if applied to the present church, is unintelligible,—for there is room there, to the westward of it, for a church as large as St. Peter's at Rome, with the Vatican besides : but here this is not the case, for the wall of

¹ Ἐχει ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου κατὰ μὲν τὴν δύσιν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ὄρος, μόνον τὸν τοίχον αὐτοῦ.
—Dositheus, II. i. 7. 'Holy City,' p. 167.

the platform of the Dome of the Rock (*Toîχος*?) is within 150 feet of the valley of the Tyropœon, which Josephus states, in speaking of the Antonia, was 50 cubits deep;¹ and though there certainly are no traces of such a depth now, still it is to this day so deep that a basilica running east and west could not be built there without immense substructions that would cost more than the church itself. The other is the account of the luminous cross seen by St. Cyril, and described in his letter to Constantius.² The letter, I hope, for the Saint's sake, is a forgery, as has been suspected; for in spite of the entire faith of Messrs. Williams³ and Newman, I cannot doubt but that the fact it records is a fabrication,—but with this I have nothing to do. It is said to have “appeared over the holy Golgotha, and extended even to the Mount of Olives.” Now if this is understood to apply to the present church of the Holy Sepulchre, and it appeared to do so to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, its base must have been at least twice seven stadia (the distance from Golgotha to the Mount), and its height consequently, instead of being only five, must have been a hundred or a hundred and fifty stadia, to have been at all in proportion,—and, need I add, its form invisible to any one in the city: but if, on the contrary, we assume Golgotha to have been where I have placed it, the invention becomes intelligible; and whether it was a meteor, or a feu d'artifice, or a creation of the Saint's fertile imagination, or of some one for him, we can understand at least why the expression should be used for any such thing: even an illuminated cross standing there might to the inhabitants of Jerusalem seem to extend to the Mount of Olives, as it must have appeared projected against that hill.

THE CHURCH OF JUSTINIAN.

WERE it not for the fortunate preservation of the book of Procopius “*de ædificiis Justiniani*,” we should be almost entirely ignorant of the fact that Justinian built a new church in Jerusalem:

¹ J. W., Book v. c. v. 8. ² Sti. Cyril. Epist. ad Const. ³ ‘Holy City,’ p. 177.

in that work, however, we have so detailed and circumstantial an account of the edifice he caused to be erected, that there can be no doubt of the fact; and there appears to me no very great difficulty in fixing the spot where it was erected. On this point, however, as indeed on almost every other, I must beg leave to differ from all those who have preceded me; for with one accord all modern topographers seem to have made up their minds that the Mosque el Aksa is the identical building described by Procopius, which, however, I cannot but think it most certainly is not.

Of those who speak from positive knowledge of the building, Dr. Richardson was the first, I believe, to hint this fact. Messrs. Catherwood, Arundale,¹ and Bonomi, confirmed this surmise. Dr. Robinson admits it without hesitation,² and Mr. Williams is indignant, beyond belief, at the idea of any man being so blind as not to see it at once, or dare to doubt what is so incontrovertible!³ In short, it seems to be passing into one of the well established points in the topography of the city, and unless some one protests before it is too late, it will be difficult to disturb so respectable and time-hallowed an article of faith; and this I must attempt, however, as the point is important, though not difficult. In the first place, it is to me quite clear that the vaults under the Aksa are not of the age of Justinian, and therefore not those described by Procopius. I have stated before that I believe them to be the only remains of Herod's temple, to which I still adhere; but admitting that the column in the centre, though certainly of the age I have named, may have been found by Justinian among the ruins of the Temple, and used by him in this place, the walls of the vaults, Mr. Tipping distinctly asserts,⁴ are of the same colossal bevelled stones as the eastern wall of the Haram, which all admit to be of an earlier date, and is of a style of masonry which I have no hesitation in asserting

¹ One of the very few liberties I have allowed myself with the plans Mr. Arundale prepared for this work is the omission of this fact, which was written on the drawing from which the Plate V. is engraved.

² 'Biblical Researches,' vol. i. p. 440.

³ 'Holy City,' p. 331, *et seq.*

⁴ Traill's Josephus, p. xviii.; and his views in this respect fully bear out the assertion.

was totally unknown in the age, or among the buildings, of that emperor. The four domes that roof the vestibule are, however, even more unlike his works than the walls; they rest in pendentives, each composed of one stone, and the domes consist of two tiers of stone,—the lower one containing only four or six great blocks, the upper, six or eight,—and the hole or eye in the centre being filled up with one; and, if I can depend on Mr. Tipping's views, from which I take these particulars, these domes are not true arches, but erected on the Eastern horizontal principle. The ribs, which, springing from the centre monolith, divide the roof into four compartments, are arched, it is true, but so clumsily, that this confirms the view I have taken with regard to the horizontality of the superstructure: this however is of no importance to the argument, which is this, that in none of Justinian's buildings has any roof been discovered, that, either in design or construction, at all resembles this. All his vaults are composed of small stones, or bricks, or pottery, whereas there is a rude,—and, if I may use the expression,—a noble clumsiness about this vault, arguing a much earlier age; for whatever faults may be ascribed to the Roman architects of the age of Justinian, their skill in vaulting is most undeniable, and it is not likely that the emperor who raised the dome of St. Sophia would build such a roof as this.

If the vaults, however, are unlike a work of Justinian, the church above them is still more so, and very unlike any Christian basilica of his age. It has seven aisles, (I know of none with more than five,) and is broader in proportion to its length than they ever were. It has no apse, and never could have had that most indispensable of all the essential parts of a Christian church; and no basilica of that age has a dome placed where this one has. The details it is almost useless to refer to,—they are so totally unlike the known works of Justinian; for he at least made the capitals of his pillars, and made them all alike, though he sometimes borrowed his shafts, and moreover, pointed arches and wooden architraves are certainly not in his style.

To these proofs from the building itself, we may add, that it stands in the very centre of the area of Solomon's Temple, which

therefore is the most unlikely place in the world for Justinian to fix upon ; for Julian's defeated attempt to build on that spot was too recent and too well known for so bigoted a churchman as Justinian to make a second attempt on that accursed spot. If he had, it is not likely that he, who, when he had completed the temple of St. Sophia, exclaimed, in the pride of his heart, "I have vanquished thee, O Solomon !" would neglect a similar triumph when he had surpassed him on the very spot where his temple stood ; nor would his panegyrist, Procopius, have forgotten to record it.

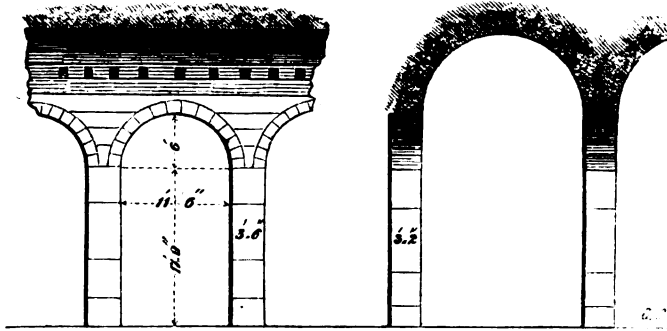
On this point, however, we have the distinct testimony of Eutychius, that the Christians had built no church within the area of the Temple, on account of the denunciation of the Lord, and had left it in ruins ;¹ and besides, as I shall presently show, we have in the Mahometan historians a full and particular account of the building of this mosque by Abd el Malek, in the year 69 of the Hejira, and no trace of the Mahometans having deprived the Christians of it before that date, which surely some one would have mentioned, had it been the case ; for all Christian writers of that age are too glad to mention any thing to the discredit of their adversaries ; though, to their credit be it said, the Mahometans seem to have adhered with such scrupulous honesty to the terms of the capitulation as to give them, in those days at least, no cause of complaint whatever in this respect.

To these arguments I shall have to return presently, when speaking of what the Mahometans really did build. In the mean-time it may be asked, if this is not the church of Justinian, where are we to look for it, or for its site ? It does not appear to me that we need go far to find a satisfactory answer to the question ; for immediately to the eastward of the Temple area (according to my restoration) there is a series of vaults agreeing exactly in every respect to the description of Procopius,—their architecture answering admirably to the age of Justinian ; and which cannot, as far as I know, be ascribed to any one else but to him.

I have before explained that they could not have supported the

¹ Eutychii Annales, vol. ii. p. 289 ; see also 'Holy City,' p. 338, *et seq.*

southern portico of Herod's temple. Hadrian could not have built them ; nor can I conceive any motive that should have induced Constantine to do so, either according to my theory of the Sepulchre or the old one. But no one has attempted to ascribe them to any of these persons, nor to any one later ; so at least there is no opposing theory ; and, indeed, the difficulty, judging from their architecture alone, is not so much to understand how they are not earlier than



Justinian, but to understand how they are so early ; for they are precisely that class of vaults which we find in the churches in the South of France, of the 10th century, or about that age, and are the type or embryo from which our Gothic cathedrals were afterwards formed ; and in Europe no one would admit their being so old as the date I have assigned them. The East, however, was always some centuries in advance of the West, and we do not know how early they might have been used in Europe, though we know to how late a period their use extended ; indeed the only probable—I might almost say possible—theory is, that they were built by Justinian ; and if built by him, it must have been to support his church ; and this alone is almost sufficient to prove that his church was not the Aksa.

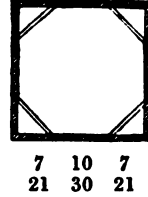
The whole series consists of ranges of circular arches resting on piers running north and south, and supporting transverse waggon vaults, of various widths.¹ The first three from the Temple enclosure terminate in three Roman archways, forming a gateway long since blocked up, and which has never been examined with the

¹ See plan of these vaults on Plate V.

attention it should have excited : outside, it seems to have been built up flush with the wall, so that the arches are only indicated ; and internally, Mr. Catherwood informed me, that he and his friends overlooked it. It certainly would be interesting to know who built it, but it would not be at all decisive with regard to the age of the vaults : it is true they could not have been built before it was opened, but it might have been built by Constantine, and closed by Justinian when he erected his vaults ; and I am inclined to believe that this is the porta Neapolitana mentioned by the Bourdeaux Pilgrim (*vide supra*) ; and if it was closed as suggested, this would account for its not being mentioned by subsequent authors. How these three vaults terminated to the northward is by no means apparent, as they are now a good deal filled with rubbish ; and in the absence of any data, I refrain from offering any suggestion, as it does not appear important. On the eastward, these three vaults are bounded by a thick wall ; then follow six more vaults, tolerably equally spaced, being each about 20 feet, rather less than more, from the centre of one pier to the centre of the next : then comes one of 21 feet, then one of 30, and one of 21 again ; then four more, averaging about 15 feet 6 inches ; but, owing to the angle of the Haram here being more than a right angle (93°), they are very irregular, and wider at their northern extremity than towards their southern one.

I am particular in pointing out this irregularity in the vaults, because, though it would appear of very small importance to most people, to me it is almost proof positive that Justinian's church was situated over them, or on a continuation of them. The subject is so familiar to my mind, as scarcely to require pointing out ; but I question if, even after I explain myself, many will follow me. It is this, that the widest of the central vaults (30 feet) is to the two on each side of it (21 feet) in the ratio of the square of the hypotenuse of an equilateral right-angled triangle to the square of its sides ; or, to be less mathematical, if four of the sides of an octagon are produced till they form a square, as in the annexed diagram, each side of that square will be divided into three parts, of which the centre one will be to those on each side of it in the ratio of

10 to 7 nearly,¹ or as 30 to 21 ; and I cannot conceive why they should have been so spaced unless it was to receive an octagonal dome. At all events, I think, according to the doctrine of probabilities, the chances are at least one thousand to one against any architect, who was employed merely to fill up a quadrangular space with a series of vaults, rising to the same height, to support a level terrace, hitting by accident on this exact proportion for his three centre ones.²



It must also be observed, that if the centre arch were produced till it met a continuation of the northern wall of the Temple, it would fall exactly half-way between the outer wall of the Haram and of the wall bounding the eastern side of the three vaults that run down to the triple gateway—two coincidences which it seems almost impossible should have been the result of accident.

The description of the situation of this church by Procopius is so clear that I am not surprised that most authors should, arguing from this alone, have believed the Aksa to be the building in question. Any argument, however, derived from that circumstance, will apply with as great, if not greater force, to the situation I have assigned to it: indeed, this part of the argument is so clear as to admit of little doubt; but I wish I could say the same of the description of the building itself, for I confess I am still excessively puzzled to understand some parts of it, though I have restored it on Plate VI. according to what appears to me the most probable view of the authorities.

In the first place, we learn from the configuration of the vaults, that it had a dome in the centre, supported by eight piers, and with a diameter of about seventy feet; and, from Adamnanus,³ that the church was square; and, with these two facts, I have little hesitation

¹ See Introduction to the Author's 'Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan.'

² I have not the measurement to inches, though Mr. Catherwood has; but it is not important here, for the thickness of piers and other mechanical exigencies of construction require slight deviations, which would account for any slight discrepancy between the measurements on the spot and those derived from theory.

³ Lib. de Loc. Sanctis; Acta Sanctorum, Sæc. III. Pars ii. p. 505.

in taking the church of Sergius and Bacchus, at Constantinople, for my model,—as it is a square church, with just such a dome in the centre, and built by the same Emperor Justinian,¹ altering only the dimensions,—for the dome of that church is little more than fifty feet in diameter, which is also the size of that of San Vitale at Ravenna, the only other octagonally supported dome of Justinian's time I know of, while this must have been fifteen to twenty feet more in span; but I think, from Procopius' description, we are justified in allowing this. So far, therefore, I can proceed without hesitation, till some examination of the foundation may supply better data for a restoration; but whether it should be placed where I have put it, immediately north of that part of the vaults now open—thus assuming the northern wall of the vaults to be the foundation of the southern wall of the church,—or nearly one hundred yards further north;—whether the hospitals for the sick and pilgrims should be to the north, where I have placed them, or to the south;—whether the propylæon was attached to the narthex, or was the entrance to the monastery,² which, from the description of the building, it appears to have been, rather than merely a church;—all these are questions I cannot quite answer. I have restored it as nearly as, weighing all the circumstances of the case, I can do, from the imperfect materials at command; and I do not think I could make it clearer by saying more about it, especially as it is not important to the general argument, which is merely to determine whether or not these vaults were those built by Justinian, to support the church described by Procopius. To me it appears there can be almost no doubt but that they are; for besides all this direct evidence there is the negative one also, that there is no other spot in Jerusalem which would answer to the description, by Procopius, of this building. There are no remains any where about the place whose architectural character would lead us to suppose they belonged to the age of Justinian; and lastly, there is not a vestige of a tradition that any other building in Jerusalem

¹ Daly, 'Rèvue Générale de l'Architecture,' tom. i. p. 9.

² "Exinde venimus in montem Sion de Sione vero ad basilicam Sanctæ Mariæ, ubi est congregatio magna monachorum et mulierum."—Ant. Mart. Iter, p. 14; *vide infra*.

was the one built by this emperor,—except, indeed, its immediate neighbour the El Aksa, which, I think it must be admitted, is entitled to this distinction only by being mistaken for this one.

If then this is so, the inevitable question arises,—What could induce Justinian to place his church here? The ground was avowedly so ill suited for its reception that one-half of it was hung in the air; and certainly it was no desire of appropriating the site of the Jewish Temple, which, by Christians of that age, was considered accursed. Why should he have chosen the most difficult piece of ground in the neighbourhood, the spot—within the walls—the most remote from the inhabited parts of the city, and the most distant from the Sepulchre,—the Holy Sion (I mean the modern one of course), and all the sacred localities of the Holy City?

It appears impossible to give a satisfactory answer to these questions, unless we assume that he chose this spot as the only available one in the immediate proximity of the Holy Sepulchre and Golgotha,—among the most holy group of churches on the face of the globe, and which only wanted a Mary church to make it complete, according to the then newly introduced and fashionable doctrines of Mariolatry.

Before leaving this part of my subject, I may as well mention that the group of buildings in the south-east angle of the Haram is called the Bath and Cradle of Jesus, or the Chapel of Jesus, or of the Virgin, not only by all the Christian historians of the Crusades and the travellers of the Middle Ages, as will afterwards appear, but also by the Mahometan writers of that age, and is so called by them at the present hour,—a fact which is certainly singular, if we assume this spot ever to have been, or even supposed to have been, included within the Temple area, or if the church of Justinian was not where I have placed it; but if I am correct in the location of the various edifices shown on Plate VI., it becomes a natural adjunct of the Mary church of Justinian, and just such a traditional locality as every church in the middle ages got up in their immediate vicinity, to give “a local habitation and a name” to the last-invented legend; and so far not only accounts for the name applied to these buildings, but confirms the views above stated as to the position of the Mary church.

ANTONINUS MARTYRUS.

BETWEEN the time of Justinian and the Mahometan conquest, we have very few facts that enable us to fix, with any precision, the sacred localities mentioned. There is however one Itinerary, that of Antoninus Martyrus,¹ which, though it does not bring much direct evidence to bear on the question, either for or against either theory, contains some indirect allusions which are of very considerable importance; and which appear to tell, without a single exception, in favour of the views I have adopted.

His description of the Sepulchre, which he calls the monument (*monumentum*), does not throw much light upon it, except that he seems to say it was cut out of the rock,² and was ornamented with gold and gems; leaving it, however, he adds a most important measurement, which is, that the distance from the Sepulchre to Golgotha, where Christ was crucified, is 400 feet.³ In the present church, the distance from the chapel of Golgotha to the church of the Sepulchre (assuming the circle to be completed) is 15 feet, or from the rock (?) itself to the Sepulchre, above 100; and I think, if there is a point on which all parties must be agreed, it is that these two places retain now the same distance from one another which they always did; for though it is very probable that the whole establishment might be moved from one side of the town to the other (and was done in this case), while it remained in the same locality the two principal points must have retained the same relative position, even though the buildings had been burnt down and rebuilt a hundred

¹ 'Itinerarium B. Antonini Martyri, seu Placentini Julio Magi Andium,' 1640; 'Acta Sanctorum Maii,' II. p. x.; and Ugolini Thesaurus, vol. vii. It is not exactly known in what year this traveller visited the Holy Land; but it must have been after the reign of Justinian,—from the mode in which he mentions him, or rather the empress,—and before the Mahometan conquest.

² "Ipsam monumentum in quo corpus domini positum fuit, in naturalem excisam est petram."—Ant. Mart. *loc. cit.*

³ Ant. Mart. p. 14: "a monumento usque Golgotha sunt passus LXXX." In the Acta Sanctorum, and in Ugolini Thesaurus, the word used is *gressus*, meaning, however, I believe, exactly the same thing.

times—more especially as these two localities are, or pretend to be, rocks, and not structures.

The Bourdeaux Pilgrim¹ calls the distance a stone's throw, which, to say the least of it, is a very indefinite measure, but much more confirmatory of these of Antoninus than of those obtained from the present localities. This, however, is a positive and distinct measurement, and therefore almost conclusive against the present localities,—though Golgotha being obliterated in the position I have assumed, it does not directly prove that the place I have assigned to it is the correct one.

But besides this, our author furnishes us with another measurement, almost as conclusive as the last, against the present buildings ; for a little further on he says, that the distance between Golgotha and the place where the cross was found is 60 feet,² whereas they are now shown as about 150 feet apart. This is not so conclusive as the other, as it is possible that the tradition may have been lost or altered during the dark ages ; but, to say the least of it, it is very improbable, and an argument which the defenders of the Sepulchre would hardly avail themselves of. The two, taken together, the one so much in excess, and the other so much less, preclude almost the possibility of its being a mistake ; and I think, even taken by themselves, make out a very strong case against the present church.

While thus comparing the measurements of the two rival churches of the Holy Sepulchre, it may not perhaps be out of place to mention that Antoninus, and all authors anterior to the eleventh century, speak of the Sepulchre as a cave cut in the rock, which indeed, from the Bible, we know that it was ; but no author that I am acquainted with asserts that the crosses were found in a

¹ Iter Hiero. ed. Wesselingii, p. 594.

² Ant. Mart. *loc. cit.* "De Golgotha usque ad locum ubi inventa est crux sunt gressus XII." Here, again, is a discrepancy between the different editions of this tract : in the Acta Sanctorum it is "L. gressus," and so also in Ugolinus ; but the important point remains, that all the authorities make the place where the crosses were found more than one-third nearer to Golgotha than to the Sepulchre : in the present church the Sepulchre is nearer Golgotha than the chapel of the Crosses.

cave: in the present church, the Sepulchre is a structural tabernacle, and so called by most writers who lived subsequently to the period above quoted; and the place where the crosses are said to have been found is a cave to which the descent is by a long flight of steps.

To return, however, to our author.

After describing Golgotha, and the altars of Abraham and Melchisedec, which then existed there, he goes on to say, "Near the altar is a crypt, where, if you place your ear, you hear the flowing of water; and if you throw in an apple, or any thing that will swim, and go to the fountain Siloam, you will find it there."¹ Had he said this of the Sepulchre, I should immediately have recognized in it the Bir Arruah² which exists in it; but the description appears to refer so distinctly to Golgotha, that we must assume that this well did not then exist, but that one did where he places it. So far as my argument is concerned, it is not important if he should have made a mistake, or I should have misunderstood him here: it is sufficient to know that either Golgotha or the Sepulchre stood over these mysterious waters of Siloam; for we know that they did run close to where I have placed the sacred spots, if not directly under them; and we also know that they do not run under the present Golgotha or Sepulchre, or any where near them; nor is there any tradition that they ever did: on the contrary, the buildings in that neighbourhood seem always to have been dependent on the pool of the Holy Sepulchre for water, to which it is brought from what is now erroneously called the Upper Pool of Gihon, but which, from its taste and other circumstances, is known not to be the "water of Siloam." A little further on, our author himself almost settles this point by saying, "Before the ruins of the Temple of Solomon, under the street (platea) water runs down to the fountain Siloam; and near the portico of Solomon, in the church, is the seat on

¹ "Juxta ipsum altare est crypta ubi si ponas aurem audies flumum aquarum, et si jactas intus pomum aut quod natare potest, vade ad Siloam fontem et ibi illud suscipies."—Ant. Mart. Iter, p. 14.

² Catherwood in Bartlett's 'Walks,' p. 154. Had I been there, I certainly would have dropped an orange, or rather a cork with a brand on it, into the well, and watched most anxiously for its appearance at Siloam.

which Pilate sat when he heard the Lord.”¹ I do not think it would be possible to characterize more correctly the water-gate of the Jews, the position of the ruins of Solomon’s Temple, or the position of Justinian’s Church, than is done in these lines ; though their value will scarcely be appreciated till we come to speak of the doings of the Mahometans during the next century, when I shall have frequent occasion to refer to them.

PERSIAN INVASION.

A FEW years after the visit of Antoninus, the city was besieged (A. D. 614) and taken by the Persians, an event which, though important in the history, is of little value as regards the topography of the place, even though it is asserted that the Persians destroyed,² or, at least, desecrated the churches ; and, what is still more astonishing, while the Patriarch was still a prisoner, and when the Patriarch of Alexandria was feeding the starving and expatriated inhabitants of the unfortunate city, Modestus, the vicar or locum tenens of Zacharius, rebuilt from their foundations the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and that of the Assumption !³

The age is fertile in falsehoods, but I have not met with one more startling than this : he may have purified and re-dedicated them, but certainly did do no more. However, if it is contended that he did, we at all events may rest assured that he rebuilt them on the same spots, and we know from the appearance of one of them, at least, that he copied the exact details of his predecessor Constantine. The city was recovered by Heraclius, A. D. 628, only to fall under the yoke of the Saracens, which it did in the year 637,

¹ Ant. Mart. Iter, p. 16. “Ante ruinas vero templi Solomonis, aqua decurrit ad fontem Siloam, secus porticum Solomonis in ecclesia est sedes in qua sedit Pilatus quando audivit Dominum.”

² Chron. Paschali, p. 335 ; Eutychii Annales, vol. ii. p. 213.

³ Antiochi Epistola in Le Quien, Oriens Christ. vol. iii. p. 259 ; Biblioth. Vet. Patrum, vol. i. p. 1023, &c.

—an event which altered the destinies of the city from that day to this, and is by far the most important event of modern times, whether as regards its history, into which I must not allow myself to digress, or its topography, to which we will now pass.

MAHOMETAN HISTORIANS.

THOSE who have followed the argument so far, will no doubt have looked forward with some interest to see by what mode I am to get rid of the universal and concurrent testimony of all Mahometan and Eastern writers to the fact that Omar discovered and uncovered the Sakrah, and erected there a mosque, which was rebuilt, as it now stands, about fifty years afterwards, by Abd el Malek, since which time it has continued, without interruption, to be the most venerated spot in the Moslem world after the Caaba of Mecca.

Those who are familiar with the works of Dr. Robinson or Mr. Williams, or indeed with the writings of any author who has written on the subject, must have learned to consider this as an established and unquestionable fact, (for no one I believe has hitherto doubted it,) and will therefore probably be surprised when I assert that the Sakrah which Omar discovered was not this Sakrah; that the mosque he built still exists to the eastward of the mosque El Aksa, and bears his name to this day; that the Aksa is the building, and only one, of Abd el Malek; and further, that no Eastern author to whom I have had access, who wrote before the time of the Crusades, even ventures to assert that either Omar, or Abd el Malek, or any other Moslem, had any thing to do with the building of the Dome of the Rock.

These are bold assertions, and the authorities on which they rest are so unfamiliar to the public in general, that I fear I shall not be able to establish them without considerable prolixity, and a variety of quotations and explanations, that must be fatiguing to wade through; but they form so important a link, not only in the evi-

dence for or against the identification of the site of the Sepulchre, and are besides so essential to the correct understanding of the topography of Jerusalem generally, and of Mahometan architecture in particular, that I must go through with it, even at the risk of wearying my readers.

Of these authorities, two, Jelal-addín and Mejr ed Din, wrote special histories of Jerusalem or its Temple: the work of the first-named has been translated into English, and therefore is the more easily accessible to ordinary readers.¹ It is, however, one of the most singularly rambling and uncritical works that can possibly be conceived, but herein consists its principal value,—for our present purposes at least,—for the author quotes all manner of traditions and assertions from earlier authorities, without ever thinking whether they accord with the circumstances of the place or not, but putting them down as he finds them, though they contradicted him and his views at every step; and it is on these quotations I principally rely for my facts. When he speaks for himself, he of course asserts the identity of the Sakrah, and reasons according to things as they were in his day, and are in ours; but a man must have infinitely more confidence than I have, not only in the good faith but in the critical sagacity of Eastern authors, who would take their account of events happening eight centuries before they were born, as of the smallest value, unless supported by collateral evidence of the very strongest nature, or at least a perfect concurrence in the traditions or evidence he may bring to bear upon the subject. In this instance, all his quotations contradict his theories, and therefore I think we may fairly put the latter aside.

The other author, though a writer of a somewhat later date (A. H. 900), is far more critical and sagacious, and his narrative is one of the most connected and reasonable that I have met with among Eastern authors, and it is much to be regretted that the whole is not translated for the benefit of the public: only small

¹ 'History of the Temple of Jerusalem, by Jelal-addín al Siútí;' translated by the Rev. James Reynolds, and published at the expense of the Oriental Translation Fund. Lond. 1826.

portions of it, however, have appeared,¹ though these apparently are those most distinctly bearing on the present inquiry. He does not, it is true, let us so naïvely behind the scenes as the other, but his work, so far as I have had access to it, certainly contains nothing to contradict my view of the case, and much that supports it, except, of course, when he is speaking of his own knowledge of the localities, as they existed in his day (in the early part of the sixteenth century). Besides these, there are a variety of narratives, some of which were composed about two centuries after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Chalif Omar, and give a more or less distinct account of the transactions that accompanied that event. Of these, the most distinct and reasonable appears to be that of Eutychius,² Patriarch of Alexandria, who wrote about A. D. 870. There is also El Macin,³ who confirms almost every word of the above narrative, at the particular point of most interest to us; the Chronicle of Abul Pharagius,⁴ and a variety of incidental notices in other authors, which I shall quote and refer to when necessary. But I believe the best way to make the subject clear will be to give the narrative as found in Eutychius, and then illustrate it by quotations from the others. By this means, I shall avoid the appearance of composing a narrative of my own; and once the leading facts are in possession of the reader, the auxiliary ones will easily fall into their places.

That I may not, however, trench on the province of history, I will not allude to the events that preceded the surrender of the city to Omar, the son of Chatab or Katab, the second Chalif. On the terms being arranged, "the gates were opened; and Omar entered the city and sat with the Patriarch Sophronius⁵ in the sacred place of the Church of the Resurrection, Anastasis; and when the hour of prayer was come, turning to Sophronius, the Chalif said, 'I desire to pray:' to whom the Patriarch replied, 'Emperor of the Faithful, pray where you now are;' but Omar replied, 'I will not pray here.' He was therefore

¹ Fundgruben des Orients, vol. ii. p. 83, *et seq.*; vol. iv. p. 158.

² Eutychii Annales, Arab. et Lat. Oxon. 4to. 1658.

³ Elmacinus, Opera Studio Erpenii. Lugd. 1625.

⁴ Abul Pharagius, Chron. Syriacum, 4to. Lips. 1789.

⁵ Eutychii Annales, vol. ii. p. 284.

led to the Church of Constantine, a mat being spread in the middle of the church ; but he still refused, saying, ' Nor will I pray here ; ' but going out to the steps of the Church of the Holy Constantine, which are on the front, looking towards the east, he prayed there alone on the steps." He then gave his reasons for this proceeding, saying, that had he prayed within the church, the Moslems would, after his death, have appropriated the place, because he had prayed in it ; and he even gave the Patriarch a writing, that his praying on the steps should not be construed into a precedent. The narrative then proceeds : " ' Then, ' said Omar, ' you still owe me one thing, according to the treaty (*fæderis jure*) ; concede to me, therefore, a place where I may build a temple. ' To which the Patriarch replied, ' I give to the Commander of the Faithful a place where he may build a temple, which the Grecian Emperors were unable to build ;¹ viz. the rock on which God spoke to Jacob ; which Jacob called the Gate of Heaven ; the Israelites, the Holy of Holies ; which is in the middle of the earth, and was the holy place of Israel, and is held by them in such veneration that, wherever they are, they turn their faces towards it when they pray,—but on the condition, that you give me a rescript that you will build no other place of prayer within Jerusalem, except this one ; ' which Omar having written, he delivered it to the Patriarch. For when the Romans embraced Christianity, and Helena, the mother of Constantine, built churches in Jerusalem, the place of the rock and those adjacent to it were laid waste, and so left ; and they threw dust on the rock, so that a large dunghill was heaped upon it, and the Romans did not reverence it as the Jews had done, nor did they erect any church upon it ; because our Lord had said, in the Holy Gospel, ' Behold, your house shall be left unto you desolate ; ' and again, ' There shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be cast down and laid waste. ' On this account the Christians had left it lying waste, and had not erected any church upon it.² The Patriarch Sophronius having therefore taken Omar by the hand,

¹ Alluding apparently to Julian's unsuccessful attempt.

² All which, from a Christian patriarch of the ninth century, makes it tolerably clear that Justinian had not built any church here.—*Vide supra* ; and see also Williams's ' Holy City, ' p. 361, *et seq.*

led him to the dunghill, when Omar, taking his garment by the edge, filled it with the earth, which he threw into the valley of Gehenna. The other Mahometans followed the example of the Chalif, till the rock was cleared; when some said, 'Let us build our temple so as to make the rock the kiblah,' (or point towards which to pray;) but Omar said, 'By no means; but let us so build the temple that the rock shall stand on the after or back part of it.' Omar therefore built the temple or mosque so that the rock stood on the 'back part of it;'—an expression which, if applied to a circular building, which always must have had the rock in its centre, is quite unintelligible.

So far Eutychius. The Mahometan historians tell nearly the same story, but with some slight variations. I shall therefore quote one, before making any remarks on it, preferring that of Mejr ed Din, as the least generally accessible, and the parallel passage will easily be found in Jelal-addín.¹

“When Omar had signed the treaty of peace, he told the Patriarch (or Patrician) to lead him to the Mosque of David. The Patriarch walked before them, to guide them and lead them to the Church of the Sepulchre, and said, 'This is the Temple of David.' But Omar, having cast his eyes upon it and reflected a little, said, 'Thou liest! The Prophet of God described to me the Temple of David, and it is not this.' The Patriarch then conducted him to the Church of Sion, saying, again, 'This is the Temple of David.' Omar again told him he lied. After which he conducted him to the great church near the gate called the gate of Mahomet. Water ran down the steps of the gate, and ran out by the street where the gate of the city was, in such a manner that the greater part of the steps were below water. The governor then said, 'We can only enter here by creeping.'—'Be it so,' said Omar: then those that were before Omar and those that were behind him commenced creeping, till they came to a plain place. Omar having looked to the right and to the left, exclaimed, 'God is great! By him who holds my soul in his hands, this is the Temple of David, from which the Prophet told me he had made the night journey.

¹ Jelal-addín, History of the Temple, p. 174, *et seq.*

"They found there the rock Sakrah, covered with dung, which the Greeks had thrown there in contempt of the Jews.

"Omar took the corner of his robe, and commenced clearing it, and all the rest followed his example."¹ Further on our author proceeds: "they say that Omar, after the conquest of Jerusalem, asked of Kaab Ebn Ishaak, 'Know you the place of the Sakrah?'—he replied, 'towards the wall that looks towards (qui donne au) the valley of Gehenna, at such and such a distance.' They dug there, and found the rock covered with dung."² 'Where do you believe, then,' asked Omar, of Kaab, 'we ought to establish a mosque?'—he answered, towards the kiblah.—'We will build it, then, behind the rock.' Thus the two kiblahs of Moses and the Prophet were united. 'O Ebn Ishaak,' said Omar, 'the Jews will have reason to say, this is the best of mosques!'

"According to another tradition, Kaab, having been questioned by Omar, where they should build a mosque, replied, 'at the Sakrah.'—'That,' said Omar, 'is the direction of the Jews; it would be better to build it before the rock, that those who pray there may have before them the kiblah of Mecca, and not that of Jerusalem, for the Prophet has not ordered us to turn to the rock Sakrah, but towards the Caaba.'"³

There are various other traditions and versions of these, some of which will be mentioned in the sequel; but all, without one single exception, are unintelligible nonsense, if applied to the present Sepulchre, or the present Sakrah; but all intelligible, and easily explained, if applied to the Sepulchre where I have placed it, and to the Temple as I have defined its boundaries. Take, for instance, the first. What could have induced the Patriarch to lead Omar to the present Sepulchre, and say, "This is the mosque of David," while no tradition, either ancient or modern, connects the name of David with that edifice, or any spot in its neighbourhood? But if applied to the buildings of Constantine where I have placed them, they were so near the Temple, and the only ones standing there, that a tra-

¹ Fundgruben des Orients, iv. p. 160.

² See also Jelal-addin, p. 177.

³ Fundgruben, *loc. cit.*

dition may then have existed, as it does now, that they, at least, were connected with it in some way; but I believe that all parties then knew very well what the limits of the ancient Temple were, as we shall see presently: they were, however, so near the spot, that one can understand the assumption of the Patriarch. With regard to the church on Sion, it either was the tower of David to which the Patriarch led Omar, which the Christians, we know, then considered as a temple, or at all events a residence of David,¹ and which the Mahometans long afterwards did consider as the altar of David, even in preference to the one in the Mosque el Aksa;² or, it may have been, he led him to the tomb of David, which all tradition has placed on Sion, and which there *exists* now, and may have begun to be believed to exist then. But neither of these localities suited the purposes of Omar; he wished to erect his mosque on the site of the Temple of Solomon, and he knew where that was, and went to look for it where it actually existed; a proceeding, I can easily fancy, appearing very unreasonable to a modern antiquary,—especially if a Puseyite. But the patriarchal simplicity of Omar knew nothing of the refined sophistry or undoubting faith of modern archæology; he went direct to the spot he was looking for, and there fixed his mosque.

If, on the other hand, we recollect what Antoninus Martyrus said about water running down here, (*vide supra*, p. 128,) what Eutychius says about the curse being on the spot, and mark the whole description, from the measuring out of one cubit on each side of the wall which is next the valley of Hinnom,³ and then creeping on till they almost hung on the roof,⁴ and apply all this to the site of the Mosque el Aksa and its substructures, the whole becomes intelligible and eminently descriptive; for, besides the testimony of Antoninus, we have a fountain half-way between the Dome of the Rock and the Aksa, and just within the entrance of the latter a well, in the direct line to this water-gate; and it is more than probable that those waters which now flow off by under-ground channels to

¹ Antonini Mart. *Iter, loco supra citato.*

² Fundgruben, ii. 83; see further on, p. 140.

³ Jelal-addin, p. 177.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 125.

the Fountain of the Virgin, would, while the place was in ruins, overflow, and run down the steps.

But if we try to apply this to the present Sakrah, not one word, so far as I can see, is applicable. For neither the cutting into the wall, nor the creeping under-ground, nor the water running down, nor indeed one of the circumstances, will apply to what always must have been the rocky summit of a hill, and the highest point in its neighbourhood. If from this we proceed to examine the accounts we have of the building of the Aksa by Abd el Malek Ibn Merwan, (A. H. 69,) we shall find this doubly confirmed; but before doing so, I must point out a discrepancy between the two principal authorities, which is of some importance, at least so it appears to me; for if I understand Jelal-addin, he makes the tower of Muawwyah to be a part of those buildings that jut out behind the Mosque el Aksa,¹ and then proceeds to say, "here is the spot which marks the cleft made by Gabriel, when he bound Al Burak outside the house by the gate of Mahomet,"—thus making the gateway under the Aksa the gate of Mahomet,—which is further confirmed by the tradition mentioned a little further on,² where Omar, "when he came at last to the gate called the gate of Mahomet, drew down all the filth that was on the declivity of the steps of the gate, until he came to a narrow passage," &c.; whereas Mejr ed Din applies this name to the gate of the Mogrebins; for he says, "This gate is situated at the extremity of the western enclosure, towards the south; it is also called the gate of the Prophet; and this is what tradition says about the night journey: 'Gabriel conducted me,' says Mahomet, 'till we entered into the city by the gate Yemani; he came to the Temple, and then tied up Burak; after which we entered by the gate where the sun and the moon bow down.'" He then goes on to say, "the Movakits, that is to say, the astronomers appointed to the mosques to observe the time and direction of the places of prayer, all say, 'We know none of the gates of Jerusalem where

¹ Jelal-addin, p. 125. In the references to Plate V., I take this name to be the same as that spelt Morwa by Mr. Catherwood, from the modern pronunciation; but having no direct authority, I have not dared to alter it on the plan.

² Jelal-addin, p. 176.

the sun and the moon can be seen together, but this one ;'”¹ and so the tradition remains to this day.² I have little doubt, however, but that this is an *ex post facto* determination of the Movakits, trying to reconcile localities with traditions, after the most approved manner of their Christian neighbours, and that Jelal-addín is quoting the older and more correct tradition. As far as the question of the Sepulchre is concerned, it is immaterial which is chosen, as both are within the limits of the old Temple ; and whether Omar built the mosque that still bears his name, to the eastward of the Aksa, or the mosque of the Mogrebins, or both, is quite immaterial to the Christian topography ; except that these two well-defined spots being mentioned,—and these only,—goes far to prove that he did not choose, or build on, the present Sakrah. Another passage from Jelal-addín will perhaps make this even more clear, for he says, “As to the tower of Omar Ibn al Khattab, men differ about it. Some say it is the great tower just by the column of the glorious pulpits, right in front of the great gate by which we enter the Mosque el Aksa. Others say it is the tower in the eastern portico, close adjoining to the wall of the Mosque el Aksa. Those who incline to this latter opinion allege, in support of it, that this cloister, and all the area it encloses, is commonly called the meeting-house of Omar, and that this was the place he chiefly distinguished, and to which he went with his comrades, (with whom may God be satisfied !) at the time when it was full of filth, which they swept away, and prayed therein. The majority apply this, however, to the tower near the pulpit, and the space between its pillars.”³ Whichever of these parties are right, there can be little doubt that they both refer to the southern parts of the Mosque el Aksa ; and the discrepancy probably arises from Abd el Malek having rebuilt a portion of the Mosque of Omar : we know that he enlarged it, so as to include the Sakrah,⁴ and tradition was consequently puzzled between what was actually built by Omar, and

¹ Fundgruben, ii. 98.

² See Ali Bey's plan, and under reference 53.

³ Jelal-addín, p. 124, *et seq.*

⁴ El Macin, p. 69. “Auxit templum ita ut petram inferet in templi adytum :” the same words occur in Eutychii Annales, ii. p. 364.

that portion rebuilt by his successor. But so far as this authority goes, it is definitive as to the Sakrah being then in the Aksa, and not where it is now assumed to be.

If we now turn to the time when Abd el Malek Ibn Merwan (A.H. 69,) determined, in consequence of the usurpation of Abdolla Ibn Zobier, to prevent the necessity of pilgrimage to Mecca, and to establish the Sakrah as a kiblah,¹ and rebuilt the Mosque el Aksa as we now find it—both Mejr ed Din and Jelal-addin give us as full and particular descriptions of the Aksa; but not one word is said by either that can be understood as applicable to the Dome of the Rock, while the chapel of the Sakrah is always spoken of as situated in the Mosque el Aksa: as for instance, “Moreover, there were in the mosque fifteen chapels, to match the chapel of the Sakrah.”² There are just seven spaces on each side of the nave, which, with the chapel at the west side, opposite the Mosque of Omar, would just make this number. The chapel of the Sakrah I understand to be the part under the great dome and to the eastward, sometimes including the mosque of Omar; and, again, “there are 7700 planks of lead, the weight of every piece 70lbs., besides that on the chapel of the Sakrah;”³ and in all the accounts the description seems to apply to only one building—the Aksa, which contained at that time the Sakrah. The description of Mejr ed Din is so full and complete, that even at the expense of a little repetition I must quote it entire, for the work which contains it is so rare that few can have access to it. He says:

“Mesjid al Aksa⁴ is the name given to the body of the mosque which extends from south to north with an elevated dome, ornamented with circles of different colours, under which is the mihrab and the mimber, (the niche which points towards the kiblah and the pulpit.) It is divided into seven compartments, supported by columns and piers,⁵ among which forty-five are columns, of which thirty-three are

¹ Eutychius, *loc. cit.*, and Fundgruben des Orients, iv. p. 160.

² Jelal-addin, p. 191.

³ Jelal-addin, *loc. cit.*; and Mejr ed Din in Fundgruben des Orients, ii. 159.

⁴ Mejr ed Din died A. H. 927, Fundgruben, vol. ii. p. 83, *et seq.*

⁵ I translate the French word *pilier* as pier, to distinguish it from *colonne*, which I take to mean a shafted column.

of marble and twelve of common stone ; the thirteenth column is at the eastern gate, near the altar of Zacharias. There are, altogether, forty piers of common stone.¹

“The great mihrab on the eastern side of the pulpit must be the altar of David ; others say that it is the mihrab which is outside of the mosque, on the southern wall, near the place which is called the Cradle of Jesus. We have before spoken of the altar of David which exists in the castle ; it was there that he prayed when at the castle—here when he came to the Temple.

“When Omar came to Jerusalem, he walked in the steps of the Prophet Mahomet, in praying at the same place, which was hence called the altar of Omar, because he first prayed there the day that Jerusalem was conquered ; but it was originally the altar of David. It was of this place that the tradition speaks when it is said that Omar asked of Kaab, ‘Where shall we establish ourselves here to pray?’”

He then proceeds to say that the mosque is 100 ziraas (aunes) in length by 77 in width.²

“The eastern part of the mosque, entirely built of stone, is called the Mosque of Omar, because it was he that built it at the time of the conquest ; and the altar which is placed in this part of the enclosure is called the altar of Omar : this is the one which is near the pulpit, and opposite the great northern gateway, as we have already said.”

I need scarcely interrupt the narrative to point out the identification the above passages contain of the altar of David with the altar of Omar, and of that with the place where Mahomet prayed, and to which the tradition of Kaab referred ; in short, identifying all these places with the Sakrah, which this extract appears to me most distinctly to do. But to return to my translation :

“On the north of that part of the building called the Mosque of Omar is a great porch, called the Porch of Esias, from which a door

¹ An enumeration which is singularly confirmed by Mr. Catherwood’s plan : see Plate V.

² The whole length from the altar of David to the gate of the tribes he makes 669 ziraas (page 93) : the ziraa therefore was about 2 feet 3 inches, which would make the dimensions quoted in the text almost minutely correct, if understood of the interior of the building, which the context seems to justify.

leads into the Mosque of Omar; and near to this porch there is another, where is placed the altar of Zacharias, near the eastern door. Inside the mosque, on the western side, is a large building, separated into two aisles, which run from east to west, and is called the Mosque of the Women. There are ten vaults, supported on nine walls (piers) of great strength, which were built, it is said, by the Fatemites.¹

“This mosque has ten doors leading into the interior enclosure, of which seven are on the north, one of which opens into each of the seven compartments spoken of above. Outside these seven doors are seven porches, raised on seven vaults, one opposite each door. The eastern door leads to the place called the Cradle of Jesus; there is another opposite this on the west; and the tenth door leads to the Mosque of the Women.

* * * *

“Outside the Mosque of Omar, on the western side, within the enclosure of the Temple, is a building called the Mosque of the Mogrebins, where the Malekites pray. It appears that this building was originally built by Omar, the son of Khatab,—on whom be the blessing of God!—for, according to the tradition of Chedad, Omar, after he had entered the enclosure of the Temple, went towards the west, carrying in his cloak the filth he had gathered from the rock Sakrah. ‘We carried it,’ says Chedad, ‘like him, and went as far as the valley of Gehenna; then he came back and we with him, till we stopped with him to pray, in a place where some people were praying.’ The same Chedad reports, that Omar, the day of the conquest, went towards a place on the western side, saying, ‘Let us establish here a mosque;’ and this is the place in question, on the western side of the Temple. It is possible that Omar may have built the building, and the Omniades raised it; it extends in the enclosure from east to west.” (?)

These passages, it may be said, are principally negative, inasmuch as they only go to show that the authors described the Aksa as the principal building of Abd el Malek, while they do not prove that he

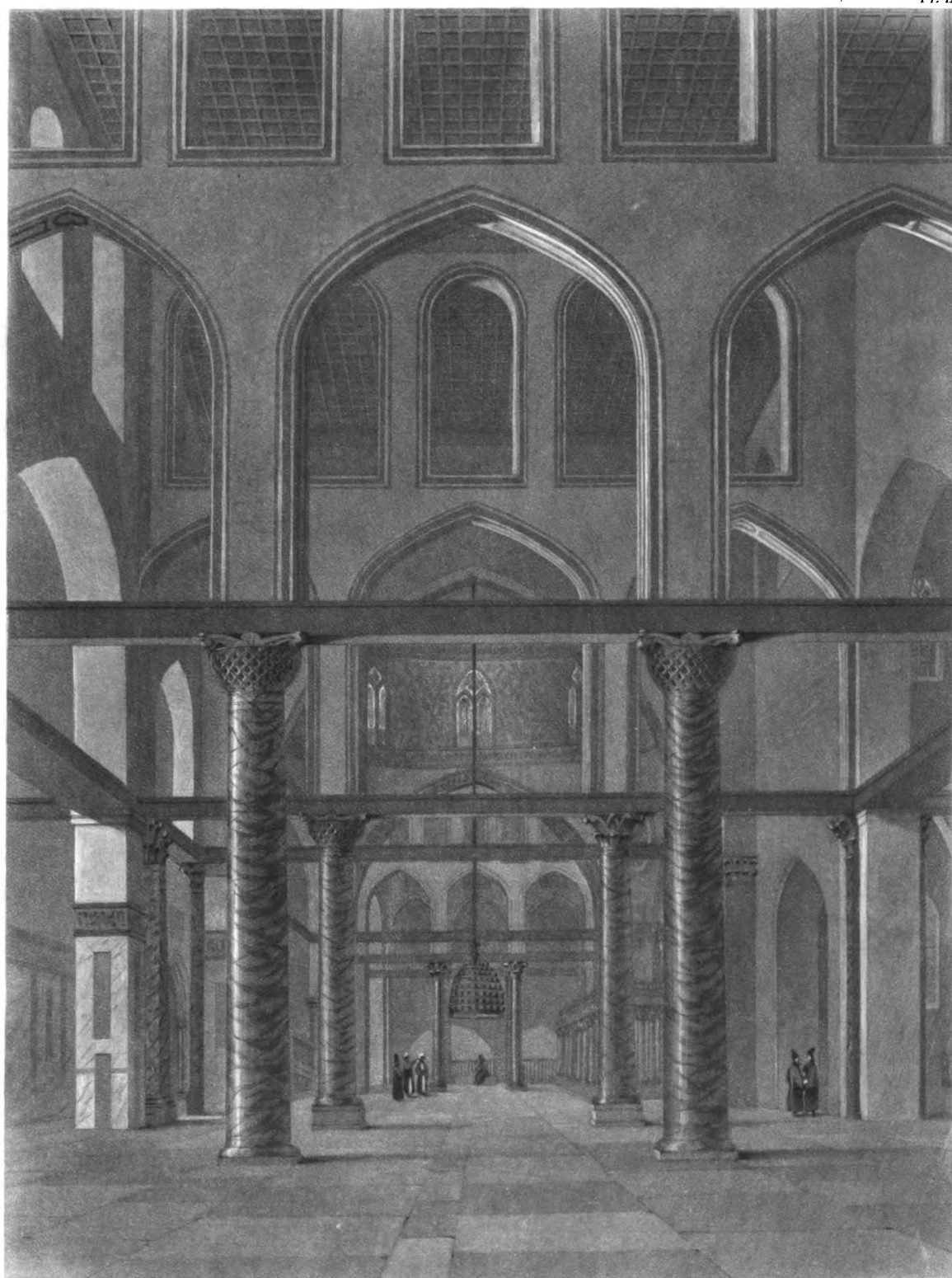
¹ On the plan this is called the Mosque of Abu Beka.

did not also build the Dome of the Rock, though they do not mention it; though at the same time we must not lose sight of the fact that the earlier traditions quoted by both authors place the original Sakrah in the Aksa, and therefore take away any motive that might have existed for building the other. The curious part of the matter, however, is that they have no distinct tradition who built it; and though, when the authors speak from their own knowledge, they always assume that it was built by Abd el Malek, there are certain traditions they quote which contradict them in a singular manner; and not one authentic tradition is quoted by them in support of their assumption. The most distinct is one from Mejr ed Din, where he says, speaking of the Dome of the Chain,—the decagonal pavilion to the eastward of the Dome of the Rock,—“This dome is of great beauty; we have already spoken of it when describing the buildings of Abd el Malek; it served as a model for that of the Sakrah;”¹ but whether in that age or at a future one, is not clear.

Another is very curious. After a correct description of the building, with the usual legendary account of the rock, he goes on to say, “This is what is said by the author of the ‘Messire al Ghorram:’ this, adds our author, is a thing known among men, that the rock is suspended between heaven and earth; they say it rested thus suspended till a woman who was pregnant, frightened at the sight, when she had entered under the rock, miscarried there. Then they surrounded it with the present building, to withdraw from the sight of men what is frightful in this miracle. Ibn al Arabi relates in his work, that he came to the East in the year 485 (A. D. 1092), which is therefore the time of his arrival at Jerusalem; and that then the rock was already surrounded by a rotunda. God knows best how this is! The dome and the rotunda which surround it have a double roof, of which the lowest is of gilt wood, and the upper is covered with lead, and between these two there is a considerable space.”² A tolerably distinct confession, it appears to me, on the part of one who is generally so distinct and clear, both regarding his authorities and reasoning, that he knew nothing of the

¹ Fundgruben des Orients, vol. ii. p. 88.

² Fundgruben, *loc. cit.*



F. Arundale del.

T. O. Barlow sc.

INTERIOR OF MOSQUE EL AKSA

matter, and that in his time there was no distinct tradition regarding the building of this edifice.

I have continued these quotations, judging from my own feelings, "ad nauseam ;" for it appears to me so distinct that the Mahometans not only did not build the Dome of the Rock, but do not even lay claim to doing so, that it is to my mind like proving a foregone conclusion, that only requires to be announced to be believed. But when I look at those who translated these works, and the numbers who have read them with the sincere intention of finding out the truth from them, I find that every one of those parties believes the authors to be speaking distinctly of the Dome of the Rock, and no one hesitating in believing that it is a Mahometan edifice of the first century of the Hejira. I confess I am puzzled to understand it, and can only request any one who still doubts, to refer to the original authorities, and read them, with my plan before him ; and if he detects any passage (except of course assertions made after the era of the Crusades) that contradicts these views, he has sharper eyes than I have ; and I think I may say, that if he will follow my guidance, he will understand much that must hitherto have appeared inexplicable mysteries.

I need not repeat here the arguments I adduced before, to prove that the details of the Dome of the Rock belong to a much earlier age than those of the Aksa : no one who compares the two drawings of the interiors (Plates I. and II.), and knows even the rudiments of archæology, can, I think, for a moment doubt that the one is very much earlier than the other ; and if he chooses to assume that the one has been repaired and altered, and the other has not, which is the only possible way I can see of escaping the argument, I can only say he is acting entirely on an assumption of his own, for which there is not a shadow of proof ; for there is no reason to suppose that one of the buildings of the same man would have been constructed in a style so much superior to the other as to require no repair, while the other required to be rebuilt—to which the argument would almost amount. But this objection I may leave till it is started. In the mean-time, there is one point in the construction, and—if I may coin a word much wanted in English—in the orientation of the Aksa, to which

I would wish to call attention before leaving it : it is, that its mihrab or niche points towards the south, and always must have done so ; and the consequence is, that all persons praying in this mosque must always have turned their backs on the rock that is now called the Sakrah.

The motive assigned by all for the erection of this mosque by Abd el Malek was, that Mecca was in the hands of his opponent, Ibn Zobeir, and, consequently, he wished to erect Jerusalem into a place of pilgrimage and its Sakrah into a kiblah. Now, assuming for one moment that he believed the present Sakrah to be the cornerstone—the Holy of Holies of Solomon's Temple, he might just as easily have built his mosque to the northward of it, had he not wished to turn entirely away from the old kiblah of the Caaba. There was more space there than on the spot he chose, and he would thus have carried out the advice given by Kaab to Omar ; or if he wished to turn entirely from Mecca, he might have built his mosque where he did, but then he certainly would have turned it the other way ;—or, supposing a third case, that he wished to do neither, but remain neutral, there was abundance of space to the eastward of the present Sakrah on which to erect his mosque, with the mihrab turned to Mecca if he liked, but without, at the same time, forcing the adorer to turn his back on the holy Sakrah. Indeed, it is scarcely possible under any supposition, that he should have been guilty of such a solecism ; and the inevitable conclusion to my mind (even from this circumstance alone) is, that the Sakrah was then in the Aksa, and towards its southern extremity.

If it were worth while, the argument based on these passages might be carried into still more minute details, and other passages quoted which would tend to confirm this view ; but I believe I have said enough to show that the Mahometan historians, so far from opposing my view of the case, are most distinctly in favour of it. They all tend to prove that Omar knew the site and limits of the ancient Temple, as I have restored it, and that he built the mosque that still bears his name within that enclosure which was afterwards enlarged into the Aksa by Abd el Malek ; while there is no reason whatever to suppose that he or any one else in his age thought the

rock under the building now called the Mosque of Omar was ever included in Solomon's Temple, or that he or his successor built the edifice that now stands over it,—while, at the same time, there is no hint that the Aksa was ever a Christian church, or that any building, Christian or otherwise, stood on the spot where it was erected.

ADAMNANUS.

At the period at which we are now arrived, or immediately after the building of the Mosque el Aksa by Abd el Malek Ibn Merwan, Jerusalem was visited by a French bishop, Arculphus, either in or about the year 695; who, on his return to his native land, was cast away on the island of Iona, in the west of Scotland, while Adamnanus was Abbot of that once celebrated monastery. The latter seized the opportunity of informing himself about the holy places which he himself had been unable to visit; and after many conversations, at last wrote the tract we now possess, noting down frequently the *ipsissima verba* of the narrator,¹ and even got him to draw a plan of the Holy Sepulchre, and to mark the sites of the adjoining churches on it, of which plan we now also have copies. There is no work of the age so full and distinct regarding the topography of Jerusalem as this; and though I think I can occasionally detect the inadvertent mistakes of a man who had never visited the spot, and in an age when maps and plans were either unknown or very imperfect, (teste those he himself introduces,) there is no doubt that he was most sincere and anxious to know the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and that he noted it down with the utmost fidelity, according to his belief; and there certainly is nothing either inconsistent or tangibly incorrect in the whole treatise; and it therefore appears to me that no theory of the topography of Jeru-

¹ Adamnanus, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, in Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedicti*, *Sæculum tertium*, pars secunda, p. 504, *et seq.*

saalem can be admitted, unless it will bear the test of examination with this tract, which I look upon as more important and trustworthy than either those of Procopius, Antoninus, the Monk Bernhard, or indeed any of those the middle ages have spared us;—they are all very well as far as they go, but they neither go so far nor in so satisfactory a manner as this one.

Besides the original tract, as above quoted, there is an abstract of it in the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede,¹ but of course less trustworthy than the original, as that author knew even less of the real localities than the original author; and there is a third recension attached to the Itinerary of the Monk Bernhard, which is fuller than that of Bede, but open to the same objection; for it was not apparently added by the monk himself, and does not appear with that copy of this tract published by Mabillon,² though it does with the one recently published in Paris,³ and is generally supposed to have been added by a later hand; but whether or not, it contains nothing of importance that is new, and in every respect the original work is the fullest and the best.

After describing the gates, which I will pass over here, as of no importance to my general argument, he begins his description of the holy places by a passage which appears to my mind sufficient in itself to settle the whole controversy, and which therefore I quote at foot as it stands in the original.⁴ He describes the Mahometans as having erected a square house of prayer, capable of containing about 3000 persons, in the immediate vicinity of the southern wall, within the enclosure of Solomon's Temple, on some ancient ruins, and adds the curious architectural peculiarity, that the pillars were connected by beams; wishing, apparently, to point out the difference between this practice of the Mahometans and the arches or archi-

¹ De situ Hierusalem et locorum sanctorum liber.

² Acta Sanct. Sæc. III. Pars ii. p. 524, *et seq.*

³ Recueil de Voyages de la Soc. Géographique, tom. iv. p. 785, *et seq.*

⁴ Adam. *loc. cit.* "Ceterum in illo famoso loco ubi quondam templum magnifice constructum fuerat, in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum, nunc Saraceni quadrangulam orationis domum quam subrectis tabulis et magnis trabibus super quasdam ruinarum reliquias construentes, vili fabricati sunt opere ipsi frequentant; quæ utique domus tria hominum millia simul ut fertur capere potest."

traves of Christian edifices. The passage occurs in a different place in Bernhard, almost word for word, but with the important addition, "that it stood where the Temple was joined by a *bridge* to the city;"¹ this being the only mention of the bridge I know of in authors of this age.

I think no one that reads this description, and will take the trouble of looking at the plan and view of the Mosque el Aksa, will doubt that it is the building referred to, which it describes with a correctness that is quite curious; and, referring to the passages from Eutychius and the Mahometan historians quoted in the preceding chapter, offers so many points of coincidence as to leave almost no doubt of the identity of the building, and confirms the correctness of both authorities. The number, too, of the persons it is said to have contained (3000), applies perfectly, and limits, at the same time, the description to this building only; for it cannot be applied to the whole Haram, which would contain 100,000 as easily as 3000; and I need not add, that not one word of it will apply to the Dome of the Rock. Besides, I look on it as quite impossible that any man could go to Jerusalem, and not see that building, and, seeing it, would describe the Aksa in preference, in speaking of the Saracenic buildings, had they both existed as such at that time. A man may live in London, and not be aware of the existence of St. Paul's,—or go to Rome, and not see St. Peter's; but no man could go to Jerusalem, and not see the Dome of the Rock; and no man, seeing it, could describe it as a square building, capable of containing 3000 persons, (which it could not contain,) besides that the locality does not fit, nor do the details of the architecture, nor indeed any thing; and there is no mention of two houses of prayer, or two places at all, but only one; and we know that the Aksa had just been completed, and would have been mentioned, in all probability, though after the Dome of the Rock, as a matter of course, had the latter then existed as a Moslem

¹ Recueil de Voyages, &c., p. 797. "Ubi templum in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum ipsique urbi, transitu pervio, ponte mediante, fuerat conjunctum, nunc ibi Sarraceni quadratam domum," &c.

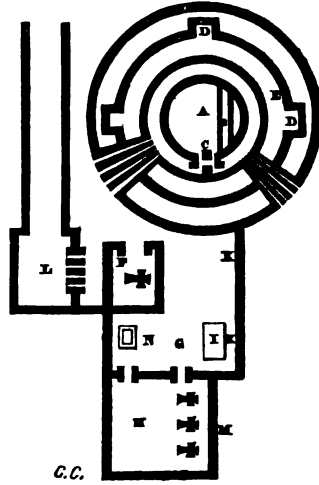
building. In short, so distinct does this passage appear to me, that I can see only two modes by which the difficulty it creates can be got over,—either by supposing that the building over the Sakrah did not then exist, but was subsequently erected by the Saracens; or by assuming that it was what I believe it to have always been,—the church of the Holy Sepulchre. I do not see a third mode of getting over it; and comparing the details, and weighing the historical probabilities of the case, I cannot see a shadow of foundation for the former hypothesis, which, besides, no one has yet suggested; and if this will not do, the other appears to me inevitable, or, to say the least of it, a wonderful corroboration of what has been said above.

If we turn from this negative evidence,—and, however strong it may be, it must be confessed it is only negative,—and look to what our author says in describing the Sepulchre itself, I think it must be apparent to every one that it suits admirably the Dome of the Rock, but is quite inapplicable when applied to the present church of the Holy Sepulchre, or, at all events, is much more applicable to the former than the latter. Here, however, we must have recourse to our plan, which, though useful in some respects,—and we cannot but feel grateful for its preservation,—must, I fear, after all, be considered as only a “vile figuration,” which its author called it: such as it is, however, we must make the best of it.

The first singularity that strikes one on looking at it is the position of its doorways, which, though imperfectly represented on the plan, are perfectly intelligible with reference to the text, where they are described as “twice four entrances, divided by three walls,”¹ of which four look to the north-east, and four to the south-east; an arrangement so singular that there must have been some very strong reason for its adoption; for I will venture

¹ A writer in the ‘Quarterly Review,’ No. CL., has fallen into rather a singular mistake regarding these doorways, as marked on the plan: he has assumed them to be the stairs leading to an upper church: had he turned to the text, he would have found “Bis quaternales portas habet, hoc est quatuor introitus per tres a regione interjectis viarum spatiis, stabilitas parietes ex quibus IIII. ad Vulturum spectant qui et Calcias dicitur ventus, alii vero quatuor ad Eurum respiciunt.”—Adam. *loc. cit.*

to say, that there is scarcely another building in the world, that, placed as this one is, on the west side of a square, has its entrances so arranged; unless it be the San Stephano Rotondo at Rome, quoted above as a copy of this church, whose principal entrance is placed exactly in the same position, relatively to its apse, as this one; but the second is not so well defined, owing to the ruined state of the building. In Messrs. Gutensohn and Knapp's plan, however, it is indicated in exactly the same relative



position as the second entrance here; and if correctly placed there, affords a coincidence that can scarcely by any possibility be deemed accidental. Be this as it may, if we compare this with the plan of the Dome of the Rock (Plate V.), it will be seen that the entrance to the holy cave exactly faces the southern one of these entrances, and that this would fully account for it; and that the other turns to the Martyrium, as I have restored it from the position of the golden gateway. The latter I would not much insist upon, as there is no direct authority; but it is satisfactory as an incidental confirmation: the former, however, is an unchangeable feature, which must have existed then as now, and is the only thing that I can trace that can account for the position of these doorways.

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- A. Tegurium Rotundum.
 - B. Sepulchrum Domini.
 - C. Altaria Dualia.
 - D. Altaria.
 - E. Ecclesia.
 - F. Golgothana Ecclesia.
 - G. In loco Altaris Abraham.
 - H. In quo loco Crux Dominica cum binis latronum crucibus sub terra reperta est.
 - I. Mensa lignea.
 - K. Plateola in qua die et nocte lampades ardent.
 - L. Sanctæ Mariæ Ecclesia.
 - M. Constantiana Basilica, hoc est Martyrium.
 - N. Exhedra cum calice Domini.

It is also probable, from the position of the doorways, that the building was then, as now, an octagon, though represented as a circle on the plan. At all events these entrances in a circular building would look awkward, to say the least of them, and unmeaning; whereas if the building was an octagon, it is little matter which face was chosen for the entrance.

In describing the church, he says it is supported by twelve stone columns of great size; and this is exactly the number we find surrounding the rock, omitting the four great piers at the angles, which I think any one would naturally do. It is true he omits in the text to mention the outer range altogether, but they are carefully marked on the plan, which in this respect perfectly accords with the Dome of the Rock, while there is no trace of a second range in the present church; and, from the context, it is plain he is speaking only of this inner range; for he adds, "In the middle of this inner rotunda, (literally round-house,) there is a cave (tegorium) cut out of one and the same rock, in which thrice three men could stand to pray, its height being about 7 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet."¹ All this applies most literally and correctly to the Sakrah, but does not apply to the present church, where there is not a cave, but most undoubtedly a built tabernacle,—to use the name applied to it throughout the middle ages,—and I am surprised that men can pretend to believe that it is or ever could be a cave;—an assumption so absurd, that it damages very much the argument of those who advocate the present being the original Sepulchre. They would advance their own cause, if they would give way on this point, and say that it stands where the cave stood, the rock having been removed, either by a Mahometan or a miracle. The height of the

¹ "In medio spatio hujus interioris rotundæ domus, inest in una eademque petra excisum tegorium in quo possunt ter terni homines stantes orare; et a vertice alicujus non brevis staturæ stantis hominis usque ad illius domumculæ cameram pes et semipes in altum extenditur." The word I have translated cave in this description is written in three different ways in this tract, as *tegurium*, *tegorium*, and as *tegoriolum*; and though a word not easily explained otherwise, is easily so here, by the following passage: "sed et hæc notandum videtur, quod mausoleum salvatoris hoc est sæpe supra memoratum tegorium spelæum vel spelunca recte vocitare possit."—Adam. *loc. cit.*

cave given, though in a somewhat loose manner in this paragraph, accords, as nearly as can be expected, with Mr. Catherwood's measurements, which make it $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 feet; but a stronger point is the indication that about nine men could stand in it to pray, which, before the tomb itself was removed, would be as nearly as possible the number the cave would contain, whereas one-third of that number is as many as the present Sepulchre could contain,—I have seen it said somewhere, that four could stand in it;—but if nine were to attempt it, they would be as badly off as the Jews at the siege by Titus, according to Mr. Williams. It is literally impossible.

Unfortunately, the entrance to the cave is not marked on the plan; and the text says it looked towards the east, and that the Sepulchre itself was on the northern side: the latter assertion probably was quite correct; but the Mahometans would of course remove that badge of its former destination, which could easily have been done: there is, however, still a ledge there, and in other respects the locality answers perfectly the description. The entrance, however, does not look exactly towards the east, but, as before said, to the south-east, and more to the east than to the south. Whether this is an inadvertence of Arculphus or Adamnanus, I am at a loss to say; but by looking at the plan,¹ it will be seen that the passage turns to the right, so as to face the north at the bottom; so that a person who wished to describe it could not possibly say "south" of a crooked passage like this, but would naturally use the other direction, unless he wished to be particularly exact, which he was, in describing the entrance to the building, but not when incidentally mentioning the fact in describing the interior.

When the church was burned down, in the year 1808, it was expected that the mystery of the cave would be revealed. The Greek clergy, however, were too clever to be caught napping, and the faith of their followers was too complete to be easily disturbed. "The heat was so excessive," says Mr. Williams,² "that

¹ See Plate V.

² 'Holy City,' p. 241.

the marble columns which surrounded the circular building, in the centre of which stood the holy grotto, were completely pulverized; the lamps and chandeliers, with the rest of the vessels of the church, brass and silver and gold, were melted like wax, &c. Yet the holy cave itself received not the slightest injury, externally or internally, the silk hangings and ornaments remaining unscathed by the flame, the smell of fire not even having passed upon them!" This from a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, in the nineteenth century! This is one miracle, but there is another scarcely less singular, which is, that after the fire, the holy cave appeared in an entirely new form, all the details of its architecture having changed, to suit those employed on the new edifice, finished in 1810; so that what was a partially altered Gothic building of the middle ages, now appears a modern Greek edifice of the present century.¹

If we now turn to the other buildings indicated in the plan, we must proceed with more caution than before, for it is evidently more incorrect, and apparently squeezed up from the narrowness of the "*tabula cerata*" on which it was drawn; otherwise I cannot account for his leaving out the Basilica of Constantine, though its place is indicated. It is true it was not erected over any sacred locality, which is what Adamnanus was most anxious about; but the same is true of the church of St. Mary, which is squeezed into a corner. But we are able to detect the principal inaccuracy by the aid of the distances quoted above from Antoninus, who is at least an equal authority with the present one; and even if it is contended that this plan represents the present buildings, the incorrectness of the position of the church of St. Mary is equally striking, for it is here drawn as almost touching Golgotha, while we know from the historians of the Crusades,² and the present localities, that it was at least a stone's throw from it; but if we consider the state of plan drawing in the seventh century, and look at any of the maps

¹ If any one will compare the wood-cut in Mr. Williams's work, p. 253, or that in Mr. Bartlett's work, p. 174, or those in Mr. Roberts's '*Syria*,' with the wood-cut on p. 88 of this work, he will see at a glance how great a miracle has been wrought.

² Jacob de Vitry, c. 64; William of Tyre, xviii. 4 and 5.

that have come down to us from that age, we shall not be surprised to find these imperfections in this. Indeed, the wonder would be if it were more correct; for besides the imperfect mode of representing things in plan in those days, it must also be borne in mind that this is not a plan made on the spot, but one sketched from memory, at a considerable distance of time and place, merely to explain to a friend the form of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the relative position of those churches which stood in its immediate neighbourhood; and with this modification, it is quite as satisfactory as could be expected,—for in the first place the site of Constantine's Basilica is exactly what I have found it to be, and the relative positions of the church of Golgotha and that of St. Mary, the one due south of the other, is also correct, and indeed, excepting distances and sizes, I consider it a most satisfactory proof of the correctness of my views.

How little his plan represents his text may be seen from Adamnanus calling the church of Golgotha a very large one, which term he does not apply to any of the other four;¹ and further, from his statement, that between the Anastasis and the Basilica of Constantine, extending even as far as the church of Golgotha, there is an open space, in which lamps are kept continually burning.² But with my plan, restored from other sources, all these expressions become intelligible; and there is, to say the least of it, nothing in that by Arculphus that contradicts mine, or indeed that does not confirm it.

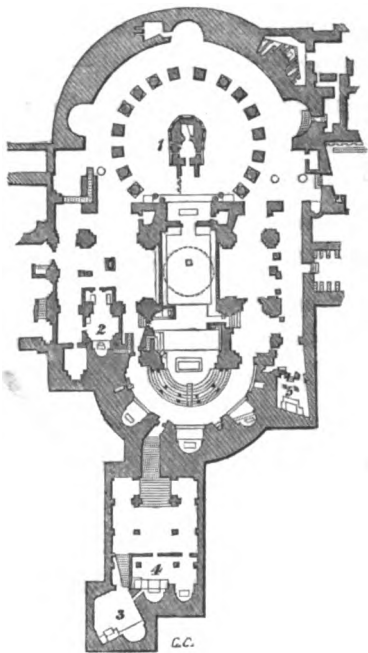
There is, unfortunately, in this tract no indication of the situation of the Sepulchre relatively to the city, which, had it existed, would probably have set the matter at rest long ago; and we are therefore left entirely to the description of the buildings for the identification: this, unfortunately, is not so full as to enable us to settle the question at once directly from it; but so far as it goes, it certainly is very satisfactory, and I think quite conclusive against the present Sepulchre

¹ "Alia vero pergrandis ecclesia orientem versus in illo fabricata est loco qui Hebraice Golgotha vocitatur."—Adam. *loc. cit.*

² "Inter Anastasim hoc est illam sæpe memoratam rotundam ecclesiam et Basilicam Constantini quædam patet plateola usque ad ecclesiam Golgothanam in qua videlicet plateola die et nocte lampades ardent."—Adam. *loc. cit.*

with its tabernacle, and confirms in almost every respect the view I have taken of the position and form of these monuments.

At the same time, if we look at this plan of Arculphus, without reference to the text, not as representing a group of buildings, but assuming it to be one building, and then compare its outline with that of the present church, it must be confessed that one represents the other with very tolerable correctness. My plan of the present church is reduced to my usual scale of 100 feet to 1 inch,—the other is one-half that found in the original text; but so struck was I with the similarity, that I felt inclined to have it drawn to the same scale, but did not, lest I should be accused of drawing it so as to favour my own views: however, they are near enough for comparison, and they are so similar, that the conclusion appears to me inevitable, that the plan is not one taken from the church, but the one from which the present church was built. At first sight, that may perhaps appear improbable, but I think what I have said above will show how very little it suits the ancient localities as described by the authorities I have quoted, even including the tract it was intended to illustrate: at the same time we know, from the continued reference to it, how popular and how common this tract was, between the time of its composition and the Crusades, and one copy, at least, must have been found in



The figures on the wood-cut indicate —

1. Sépulchre.
2. Golgotha.
3. Place where the cross was found.
4. Chapel of St. Helena.
5. Prison of our Lord, and place where he was scourged.

This last locality was sent elsewhere when the present church was built in 1808.

Jerusalem, if not many. Let us then assume that the Christians were turned out of their original Sepulchre and Golgotha by the Mahometans, which I shall presently show was the case. Nothing can be more improbable than that they had a correct plan of the localities from which they were banished; or, indeed, that they wished, even if they had the power, to copy them exactly: but here they had one, and when compelled to transfer their Sepulchre to a new locality, can any thing be more probable than that they would take the plan known to all the Latin world at least, and, fixing on a rock for their Golgothana rupes, or monticulus Golgotha,—which was more important, or at least more difficult to imitate than a cave, which was easily built,—that they should have arranged the other localities with reference to it as they found them set down in this plan, which they had in their hands. At least I cannot suggest any other means by which to reconcile the discrepancy that exists between this plan and all the written indications I have been able to collect; and the similarity that it possesses to the present church, which certainly is strikingly great, and so much so, that I am convinced that the two apartments south of Golgotha, marked as robing-rooms on Mr. Williams's plan, did originally represent the two apartments into which Arculphus in his plan divides the Mary Church; and, be it observed, they bear not only the same relative size and position, but exactly the same form. The Virgin, however, afterwards, in more prosperous times, had two churches in this neighbourhood, at some little distance to the southward; and then, apparently, these were devoted to other purposes.

This theory is by no means essential to my views, and if any one can suggest another to account for the discrepancies and similarities, I shall feel obliged to him; but, in the mean-time, it appears to me to account most satisfactorily for them all.

PART III.

TRANSCFERENCE OF THE SEPULCHRE.

As far as the argument has hitherto gone, there has been no flaw whatever in the evidence; and whether we take it as according perfectly with the scriptural narrative, (which it does to the minutest particular,) or as according with the testimony of subsequent writers, both Christian and Mahometan,—or, lastly, from the evidence of the architecture itself, nothing can be more complete and consentaneous than the whole chain is; and I do not know of any other building or set of buildings, regarding which a more perfect argument can be adduced than that which I have attempted to put together for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from the time of the crucifixion to the end of the seventh century. So complete, indeed, does it appear, that it seems almost a work of supererogation to pursue it further. To me it appears quite sufficient to know that for the first seven centuries, the Dome of the Rock can be proved to have been known either as the place of the tomb in which Christ was laid, or as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; while, for the last eight centuries, or since A. D. 1048, the present one has been dignified by that title: the consequence is of course inevitable, that at some period during the three centuries and a half that intervened between these two periods, a transference from one locality to the other must have taken place; and, so far as the argument is concerned, it is of very little consequence when it was done, or by whom. To many, however, who are not familiar with the history, or rather with the manners and customs, of that period, which is known emphatically as the Dark Ages, it may appear improbable that such things could be done, and they may feel inclined to reject the whole evidence, because the conclusion arrived at from it is so different from what they have hitherto believed in this particular case, and as to what they generally believe to be the probable mode and motives of

human actions. Still, as I am convinced that this argument, derived from the improbability of the case, is the only one that can fairly be brought against the evidence above adduced, it may be worth while, perhaps, to attempt to put the probabilities of the case in their proper light, and to anticipate, as far as possible, that chain of logical sophistry which at all times is at hand to prove or disprove any case, and, by beginning with a modest query of "Is it likely?" gradually assumes the form of "How very improbable!" and, lastly, arrives at the conclusion, "That it is impossible," very much to the reasoner's satisfaction, and to the no small befuddlement of his hearers, who, whatever their conviction on the subject may be, feel it most difficult to grapple with so airy a fabric.

I do not, of course, mean to insinuate that those who may use this species of logic against me, do it knowing it to be false; but it is a habit of reasoning to which we are too prone, and which never can be sufficiently guarded against; and in the present instance it is this, it appears to me, that has hitherto prevented any one from taking the correct view of the case—at least what I believe to be so—is the first thing that will strike any one on hearing it announced, and will deter many, I have no doubt, from taking the trouble either to read the work or go through that course of study or observation requisite to form for themselves correct views on the subject; and even with the greatest and most sincere desire for truth, their minds, unless they carefully guard against it, will run through the three degrees of comparison,—unlikely, improbable, and impossible,—and the cause will be judged before it is tried. To try and guard against this, I feel I must go more into the case than it was at first either my wish or my intention to do. But before attempting this, it will be necessary first to show, as nearly as can be ascertained, when the transference took place; not that I think it will be possible to do this in a manner entirely satisfactory: those who committed the fraud were not likely to betray their secret, and, in fact, did not; and it would be expecting far more than we are entitled to expect from the uncritical spirit of that age of undoubting devotion, to expect that any pilgrim or warrior would doubt what the priest told him; or, if he doubted, that he would dare to express

it; or, if he suspected the truth, that those interested in upholding the cheat would not take the requisite steps to suppress that testimony and conceal its existence,—and they have done so, and effectually; still it does not appear to me a matter of doubt, that there are in Jerusalem two churches of the Holy Sepulchre, one built in the fourth, the other in the eleventh century, and that the last is a false pretender to the honours it claims.

In the three centuries and a half to which we are now confined, there are only two periods at which the transference could have taken place: the first, when Charlemagne obtained a grant of the Sepulchre and its appurtenances from Harun el Rashid; the other when, between the years 1031 and 1048, the church was avowedly rebuilt on the site and in the form in which it now stands, or rather, I should say stood, anterior to the year 1808. If the first could be proved to have been the time, half the difficulty would be overcome, as it was the very “noon of night” of the Middle Ages, when there was nothing too daring for the priesthood to attempt, and nothing so extravagant that the people would not willingly and readily believe it. Indeed, had the Chalif sent the Emperor the Sepulchre itself on the back of the elephant he presented him with, all Europe would have received it with transports of joy, and it might now have been found adorning Aix-la-Chapelle or Paris, as its sister cave of Nazareth does Loretto, under the guise of a rude hut; and had the Chalif known how deep was the ignorance of the Christians of those times, he probably would have done so: but he at least was a civilized king; he sent only the key in token of possession, and the Sepulchre remained where it was. Besides, the distance of that time from the era of the Crusades was so great, that any transference would long have been forgotten, and the three centuries that intervened would have sufficed to sanctify any place as the Holy Sepulchre, even if it had been a hundred miles from the spot where it was formerly known to have stood. Indeed, so many of the difficulties of the case would this theory get over or avoid, that I was at first almost inclined to take it for granted, but a more careful examination has convinced me that it is untenable; for in the first place, though there was sufficient disturbance and civil war in the East during almost the whole of the

eighth century, there is no account of any destruction of the Holy Sepulchre, and no complaint on the part of the Christians of any violation of the capitulation ; nor, on the other hand, do the passages in Eginhard's Life of Charlemagne¹ seem to bear such a construction, nor the capitulary "*de Eleemosyna mittenda*:"² it was not to rebuild but merely to restore (*restituendas*) the churches ; nor do the passages quoted by Le Quien³ bear out this view, though some might be construed so as to countenance it. On the whole, I fear it is untenable, and that all the emperor did was to repair the churches of Jerusalem, and restore those to worship which had been neglected or abandoned, of which class the Church of the Holy Sepulchre does not appear to have been one.

The main burden of proof, however, must rest, in this instance, on the evidence of the only two works I know of—of this period—which contain descriptions of the holy places. The first is in the Life of St. Willibald, who visited Jerusalem about the year 765 ; the other is that of the monk Bernhard, whose pilgrimage took place about a hundred years later. If, therefore, the first described the old and the other the new Sepulchre, we should at once have distinct proof that the transference took place during the reign of Charlemagne, which occurred between the visits of those two persons.

The evidence derived, however, from these works is far from being so distinct as might be desired ; but as far as I can understand it, the conclusion is the anomalous one that the older traveller describes the new—the later, the old Sepulchre ! which is rather a curious inversion of the case : however, to understand this, we must bear in mind that St. Willibald wrote no description of the holy place himself, though he visited the city of Jerusalem four times, and having resided there some time, must have been perfectly familiar with all the holy sites : the description of them to which I allude is contained in a life of the Saint, written by a female hand (apparently a relative) after his death.

¹ Eginhard, *Vita Caroli Magni* ; and *Gesta Dei*, p. 630, &c.

² *Capitularium* i. anni 810, c. 17.

³ *Oriens Christ.* iii. p. 318, *et seq.*

Of this biography we have two recensions, both of which are printed by Mabillon in the *Acta Sanctorum*.¹ As they are found in this work, it would appear that the first in order of printing was the original form, from its having the preface and introduction of its author attached to it, and it is the one that contains the description alluded to, not one syllable of which is found in the second, which appears to me very strong presumptive evidence that it is an interpolation; for looking at the number of recensions and copies of the tract of Adamnanus which we have during this and subsequent ages, and the interest which all Christendom then showed in the sacred places, and thirst for a knowledge of them, it appears most improbable that any subsequent copyist should have omitted this most interesting passage, had he found it in the original life, while he has repeated, with as much exactness as is usual in that age, all the rest of the book. But if, on the other hand, it is contended that this did form part of the original work, it certainly would appear that the authoress, never having been on the spot, and writing from memory after the death of her informant, has singularly mistaken his meaning, and described what then could, I fear, hardly have existed.

The description, however, is so curious, that I must quote it at length at the bottom of the page, for comparison with those of Antoninus and Arculphus.²

¹ *Acta Sanctorum Ord. Benedicti, Sæc. III. Pars ii. p. 375, et seq.*

² "Et inde venit ad Hierusalem in illum locum ubi inventa fuerat sancta crux domini. Ibi nunc est ecclesia in illo loco qui dicitur Calvarie locus: et hæc fuit prius extra Hierusalem, sed Beata Helena, quando invenerit crucem, collocavit illum locum intus in Hierusalem.

"Et ibi stant tres cruces lignæ foris in orientali plaga ecclesiæ, secus parietem, ad memoriam sanctæ crucis dominicæ et aliorum qui cum eo crucifixi fuerunt. Illæ non sunt intus in ecclesiam, sed foris stant sub tecto extra ecclesiam; et ibi secus est ille hortus in quo fuit sepulchrum salvatoris. Illud sepulchrum fuerat in petra excisum et illa petra stat super terram et est quadrans in imo et in summo subtilis.

"Et stat nunc in summitate illius sepulchri crux, et ibi desuper nunc ædificata est mirabilis domus, et in orientali plaga, in petra sepulchri, est janua per quam entrant homines in sepulchrum orare, et ibi est intus lectus in quo corpus domini jacebat * * * ille lectus in quo corpus domini jacebat stat in latere aquilonis intus in petra sepulchri, et homini est in dextra manu quando intrat in sepulchrum orare, et ibi

If this description of the holy places is read as written in the eighth century, it differs so entirely from the authors we have quoted above as to be almost perfectly unintelligible; but if understood to be written between the years 1048 and 1099, it is easily comprehended. Throughout the whole there is a singular degree of hesitation I have not observed in any other author; and it seems as if the writer was perfectly aware that what he was describing was not the true Sepulchre and its appurtenances, but something got up to represent them. If translated literally, it would appear that it was supposed that Helena brought the sacred places into the city, and not that she extended the city to them; and we have on Calvary only the similitude of the cross, and before the door of the Sepulchre likewise a stone to represent the original stone; and further, he does not say that Constantine or Helena built the Sepulchre, but that it was now built, as if only recently completed.

Altogether, this language is so different from that of all the writers we have hitherto examined, who speak of the cross and the stone and the cave and the buildings of Constantine with a confidence that knew no doubt, that to me the conclusion appears almost inevitable, that they are speaking of different things; but a stronger proof than even this will be found in the description of Calvary, which is no longer the *pergrandis ecclesia* of Arculphus, at the distance of eighty paces according to Antoninus, but a place out of doors, close to the wall of the church, covered apparently with a shed, and answering perfectly to the description given of it by William of Tyre, speaking of the time when the crusaders arrived, who says that "it was without the circuit of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, covered by a small oratory;"¹ and so we find it now, both in size and situation, but not so in any of the previous authors.

There are some other points in this narrative, but all tending

nunc ante januam sepulchri jacet ille lapis magnus quadrans in similitudinem prioris lapidis quem angelus revolvit ab ostio monumenti."—Act. Sanctorum Ordin. Benedicti, *loc. cit.*

¹ "Locus dominicæ passionis que dicitur Calvariæ seu Golgotha, &c.; extra predictæ ambitum erant ecclesiæ, oratoria valde modica."—William of Tyre in *Gesta Dei*, p. 747.

to confirm this view ; but as I have quoted the passages at length, I need not further dilate on them here, as every one may form his judgment for himself. For myself, I long thought I had found in this passage the solution of the question, and that it proved that the transference had taken place even anterior to the age of Charlemagne ; but, on reviewing the matter carefully, I have been forced to abandon that ground, and to assume that it is an interpolation of the eleventh century, and, as such, highly instructive and useful also, in illustrating the topography of the Sepulchre.

The other author, the monk Bernhard, who visited Jerusalem about the year 870, is more to be depended upon, as his description is written by himself, and it is contained, with scarcely any variation, in all the recensions we have : unfortunately it is not so full as could be wished ; he cuts his description short by saying that it is unnecessary for him to say more, as the Sepulchre, &c., have been so fully described by Adamnanus,—a tolerable proof, however, that he knew they were speaking of the same places ; and, apparently, it was in consequence of this reference that a recension of that tract was afterwards appended to the account of his pilgrimage.

As far as it goes, it agrees singularly with the description of Arculphus, but differs *toto cœlo* from that in the Life of St. Willibald. The first curious point he mentions is the hospital founded by Charlemagne, adjacent to the church of St. Mary, in which he and his companions lodged, having a noble library founded also by that emperor, “ with twelve mansions, fields, vineyards, and a garden in the valley of Jehoshaphat.” This mention of the valley of Jehoshaphat in conjunction with this church is by no means conclusive in itself that it was the church of Justinian, but it is singularly corroborative of the other evidence ; for it appears to me that if a church, in the middle of the city, had a garden a mile off, he would scarcely speak of it at the same time, but would mention it when speaking of the things he saw in the valley,—not in speaking of the hospital itself,—and from the context he seems to describe it as a part of the whole. After this, he mentions the four pre-eminent churches of the city, but recapitulates only three, because he describes the church of Golgotha and the basilica of

Constantine as one, which apparently they almost were,—at least they were joined one to the other: the other two he is quite distinct about,—the church of St. Mary and that of the Holy Sepulchre. In describing the latter, he mentions only nine pillars around the tomb, instead of twelve, but speaks with perfect confidence of the stone before the Sepulchre being the one which the angel rolled back; and a little further on he adds, in conformity with what we before learnt from Adamnanus, that between these four churches is a paradise (*parvis*) open to the heavens, the middle of which is called the middle of the world.¹

Altogether, this description by the monk Bernhard leaves an indelible impression on my mind: he is describing buildings essentially the same as those described by Arculphus 170 years before his time, though they seem to have undergone some little change during the interval: after all, however, it may only be that his description is so succinct that we do not understand it; or, perhaps, that he noticed only those peculiarities omitted in the tract by Arculphus, to which he refers, and to which he apparently intended his description as a supplement. Be this, however, as it may, the buildings he describes are so essentially different from those now found in this spot, where no paradisi between the four churches is possible, nor one of the features accords with his specification, that if the direct

² “*Et recepti sumus in hospitale gloriosissimi imperatoris Caroli, in quo suscipiuntur omnes qui causa devotionis illum adeunt locum, lingua loquentes Romana; cui adjacet ecclesia in honore Sanctæ Mariæ, nobilissimam habens bibliothecam studio prædicti imperatoris, cum XII. mansionibus, agris, vineis, et horto in valle Josophat. Intra hanc civitatem, exceptis aliis ecclesiis, quatuor eminent ecclesie, mutuis sibimet parietibus cohærentes, una videlicet ad orientem, quæ habet montem Calvarie et locum in quo reperta fuit crux domini et vocatur basilica Constantini; alia ad meridiem; tertia ad occidentem, in cujus medio est sepulchrum domini, habens IX. columnas in circuitu sui, inter quas consistunt parietes ex optimis lapidibus, ex quibus IX. columnis IIII^o. sunt ante faciem ipsius monumenti que cum suis parietibus claudunt lapidem coram sepulchro positum, quem angelus revolvit, et super quem sedit post perpetratam domini resurrectionem. De hoc sepulchro non est necesse plura scribere cum dicat Beda in historia sua inde sufficientia * * * * Inter prædictas igitur IIII^o. ecclesias est paradisus sine tecto, cujus parietes auro radiant, pavementum vero lapide struitur pretiosissimo habens in medio sui confinium IIII^o. cathenarum que veniunt a prædictis quatuor ecclesiis in quo dicitur medius esse mundus.”—Recueil de Voyage, publié par la Soc. Géo. de Paris, tom. iv. p. 789; and Acta Sanct. Ord. Benedicti, Sæc. III. Pars ii. p. 524.*

evidence be not conclusive, the negative proof is at all events as satisfactory as could be wished.

If these premises are correct, the inevitable conclusion must be that the church originally erected by Constantine continued to be considered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre till after the middle of the ninth century; and that, consequently, the Christians retained undisturbed possession of it till at least the time of Muez, who, in the year 969, murdered the Patriarch and set fire to the Basilica,¹ though not, apparently, to the Anastasis. From this time till the death of El Hakeem, A. D. 1021, the position of the Christians in Palestine seems to have been very precarious, and the persecution against them to have raged fiercely; and it must have been during this half century that the Christians were expelled from the Haram, and that at length, after seventeen or eighteen years more of depression, they had sufficiently recovered to be enabled to commence building the present church, though in a different locality, but one less exposed to the envy of the Moslems, being within their own quarter of the city, and where the merchants of Amalphi² had already built several churches and located bodies of monks. To this I shall return presently, but in the mean-time I must attempt to place what, after all, is the real difficulty of the case,—the improbability of such a transference,—in a clearer light; for if that can be got over, I am convinced there will be no difficulty in establishing what I have hitherto been attempting to prove.

PROBABILITY OF THE TRANSCERENCE.

As the proposition therefore now stands it is simply this, that after the visit of the monk Bernhard, or rather after the burning of the Basilica of Constantine by Muez (969), the Christians were forced to abandon the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and between the years 1031 to 1048 did rebuild a church, to represent that one from which

¹ Cedreni Hist. Comp. p. 661; Le Quien, Oriens Christ. iii. 466.

² William of Tyre in Gesta Dei, xviii. 4; and Jacob de Vitry, c. 64.

they had been ejected, where it now stands ; and the only objection I am aware of to this proposition is its improbability.

That such a fraud—if I may so call it—should be perpetrated between the years 1769 and 1848 is indeed improbable, if not impossible ; so much so, indeed, that it is with difficulty that we can bring our minds to believe that a state of things so totally contrary to the usual course of our ideas could have ever existed ; and we naturally shrink from contemplating the abyss of ignorance into which gross superstition had at one time plunged mankind, and in charity hope that it is not true that men were ever so besotted as they certainly were during the dark ages of which we are now speaking.

The historian, however, can commit no greater mistake than to judge of other ages by the rules of his own morality, or to measure the intellect of distant ages and countries by the standard of the intellectual enlightenment of his own age ; and though I grant fully that it is as improbable as you please that such things should happen in Protestant England in the nineteenth century, that does not prove that they might not very well take place in monkish Syria in the tenth or eleventh.

But it appears to me to require only a very superficial knowledge of the literature or history of these dark ages, to see that such things, instead of being improbable, were of daily occurrence ; and things ten thousand times more absurd and improbable than this, were done and asserted and believed with an implicitness of faith which we have now-a-days a difficulty in comprehending.

If any one will take the trouble of reading the ‘*Legenda Aurea*’ of Jacques de Voragine, or the ‘*Catalogus Sanctorum*’ of Peter de Natalibus, or the ‘*Speculum Magus*’ of Vincent de Beauvais, the most enlightened man of the age of Saint Louis, or indeed any of the works of that age,—which was one of far more enlightenment than the one of which we are now speaking,—or, if he likes to confine his reading to the present day, let him read the lucubrations of the Cambridge Camden Society, or of the Oxford Tractarians, and the ‘*Lives of the Saints*’ they are now publishing,—and if he does not rise bewildered and mystified by such a course of study, he will have a stronger head than most of our young clergy ; but, at all events, I

think he will admit that the removal of the Holy Sepulchre, so far from being an improbable event, was almost a matter of course; and he may rest satisfied with the moderation that left it still at Jerusalem, and has not transferred it to Italy or Spain.

If this has been correctly characterized as an age of locomotion among the living, that may even more emphatically be called one of locomotion among dead men and inanimate things. No man who had done any thing great or good in his day was allowed to rest in peace in his grave, but was raised again, to help his successors in propagating the faith, or making their fortunes. On them was laid the commandment, to increase and multiply; and whether it was that half-a-dozen bodies of St. James were invented, or innumerable pieces of the holy cross and holy coats, there were processes by which all things were done, as easily and as certainly as we now do them by the vulgar mechanical means we, in the nineteenth century, employ for the same purposes.

The only difficulty in the case of the Holy Sepulchre, and which prevented the transference taking place openly, and being avowed, seems to have been its exceptional character; for there is no instance, that I recollect, in the middle ages, in which a tomb itself was of any importance; in all cases it was the bones or relics that the tomb contained, and any new altar or encasement was as good as the old: the processes of the invention, or removal of such relics, were perfectly understood, and practised every day,—the most usual being, simply, that the Saint appeared to some monk or ecclesiastic, who had acquired sufficient influence to make himself believed, and told him where his old set of bones were laid. This was duly related to the convent next morning, and a search was formally made in a place where bones in plenty were sure to be found. Then, however, arose the difficulty of knowing which had belonged to the Saint in question. The first test was, that they always diffused a delightful odour all over the sacred precincts, which certainly is not the case with the remains of sinners in the nineteenth century. But this was not deemed sufficient: they were laid on some unfortunate dead person, who was immediately restored to life; or some more fortunate person, afflicted with an incurable disease, who was

immediately cured ; and they afterwards supplied the place of Doctor and Engineer to the city blessed with their presence, curing all who paid their fees, and performing by a miracle whatever was beyond the skill or power of the carpenter or mason.

To some such legend as this does almost every cathedral or convent in Europe owe its foundation. They were then received as undoubted facts by all the population, though the implicit belief in them is now, I believe, confined to certain members of our enlightened universities.

Still none of these processes would apply to the Holy Sepulchre. It is true, indeed, that one was invented some three centuries later, which would have saved the worthy Syrians the trouble of concealment. When the *sancta casa*, which was, in the time of the Empress Helena, a cave at Nazareth, was so in the 13th century, and remains so to this hour, took to travelling like the dead saints, but in the disguise of a brick hut, and after visiting Dalmatia and other places, at last settled itself at Loretto, it was received with princely hospitality by the sovereign Pontiff, lodged in a splendid church, and every honour that could be shown it was heaped on so illustrious a guest. And there it remains at the present day, a manifest proof, a divine miraculous interference ; and it has always been a matter of wonder to me that the *San Sepolchro* neither accompanied nor followed its sister cave in her peregrinations.

Though, however, this case was too late to benefit the Sepulchre, and save the Crusades, we are not without instances, in Jerusalem itself, which are nearly parallel to that of the transference of the Sepulchre, and prove, at least, how little a shifting in locality was thought of in those days, and with what unquestioning simplicity it was believed.

After those localities in Jerusalem which are supposed to be sanctified by the scenes of the Saviour's life and Passion, there is no one of such importance, and so often referred to, as that where the Proto-martyr Stephen was stoned to death. All writers on the topography of Jerusalem admit, that during the Crusades, and up to the time of Rudolph of Suchem,¹ (A. D. 1336–50,) the spot was

¹ *Reisebuch des Heiligen Landes*, p. 846.

about one stadium from the city wall, north of the Damascus gate; and every one knows that the eastern gate of the city is now called the gate of St. Stephen, and the place of his martyrdom is shown near to it.¹ Quaresimus,² a model of a monk in capacity for believing any thing, is forced to admit this; and even Mr. Williams cannot get over the "unhappy circumstance," adding that "it is impossible to evade the fact of a change in the tradition in this respect,—as Quaresimus has attempted to do:"³ and what makes the case more striking is, that it took place after the Crusades, and when, consequently, all Europe was familiar with the topography of the city and position of the sacred places; and it remained quite unquestioned till very recently. And even now, those that have inquired into it assume that it remained outside the Damascus gate from the time of the Empress Eudocia till the fourteenth century; but a little inquiry will, I think, prove that this was not the case. In the first place, Antoninus (A. D. 600), if I understand him correctly, says it was outside the Jaffa gate, on the road that leads to Joppa,⁴ &c. Adamnanus, on the contrary (A. D. 695), places it in or near the church or *cœnaculum* on Mount Sion;⁵ and in this he is fully borne out by the monk Bernhard (A. D. 870), who places it close to the east side of that church;⁶ so that as far as the authorities are concerned, it appears that up to the time of the Mahometan conquest, it was somewhere near the pool now called the upper pool of Gihon, to the westward of the city. It then, for some good reason, was brought into the city, or at least to its southern extremity: during the Crusades it was

¹ Robinson, 'Biblical Researches,' pp. 475, 476.

² Elucid. II. p. 295.

³ Williams, 'Holy City,' p. 364.

⁴ "Beatus quoque Stephanus foris portam uno ictu sagittæ requiescit, et illa porta ex nomine ejus vocatur, et est ad viam que respicit ad orientem quæ descendit ad Joppem et Cæsaræ Palestinam vel Diospolim civitatem."—Antonini Martyri Iter, p. 20.

⁵ After describing carefully the *cœnaculum* and all its traditional sites, he adds: "Hic petra monstratur super quam Stephanus lapidatus extra civitatem abdormivit."—Acta Sanctorum Ord. Ben. Sæc. III. Pars ii. p. 588.

⁶ "Et in hac defuncta traditur esse Sancta Maria; juxta quam versus orientem est ecclesia in honore Sancti Stephani, in quo loco lapidatus esse creditur."—Recueil de Voyages, iv. p. 790; see also Sancti Willibaldi Vita, Acta Sanctorum, Sæc. III. Pars ii. p. 386.

again thrust in on the northern side; and lastly, in the fourteenth century, transferred to the eastern, where it now is. With this extreme laxity with regard to a tradition of such importance, it surely will not be contended that it was either impossible or even improbable that the Sepulchre should be once moved, more particularly as that appears to have been a case of pure necessity; while for this no reason that I know of can be assigned, except that innate restlessness and desire of change exhibited by holy places in those ages.

There is, however, another point of view in which this transaction may be regarded, which, I think, takes off very much from its improbability, and at the same time places it in a less reprehensible light than might at first sight appear. I perfectly admit, that were any set of priests in this age to attempt such a fraud, on so sacred a subject, it would be difficult to find words strong enough to express our sense of its infamy; but in that age the two main springs of society were pious fraud on the one hand, and impious force on the other. The priesthood were living as a peaceful unarmed race, among hordes of armed warriors, and with no means of sustenance or self-defence, except what they could obtain from their ruder neighbours by the superiority of their intellectual acquirements. Had they attempted to preach to those rude barbarians a religion of peace and brotherly love, in the simple abstract form of mental adoration and purity, it would have been like an attempt of the west wind to blow down the pyramids of Egypt. It required the splendour and pomp of religious ceremonies to attract them, and the tangible forms of sensuous idolatry to convey a truth or meaning through the iron-cased skull of a rude soldier,—and above all, an appeal to his superstitions and fears, to subdue and overawe him, and enable the priest to acquire that influence over his mind which it was then thought needful he should possess; and if we often shrink in disgust from the unscrupulous use the priest made of these powerful arms to obtain his ends, we must not, at the same time, forget the cruel oppression to which he was often exposed, and the rude violence that often turned against him the arms he had hired for his protection, or robbed and plundered him of all he possessed,

even when his motives may have been of the purest, and his influence only used for good, however unjustifiable the means by which he obtained it may have been, according to the light of our improved morality.

Assuming that in the latter half of the tenth century the Mahometans ejected the Christians from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, when happier days again returned, and it was debated whether they should abandon the place altogether, or erect another Sepulchre,—which, as far as their purposes were concerned, would be quite as good as the old one,—shall we blame them if they adopted the latter alternative? They knew that many persons cannot comprehend an event till they see the place itself where it happened, or some visible or tangible representation of it; and that the faith of all was strengthened by visiting these places,—or, in other words, that pilgrimages are an essential element in the religion of all rude people, whether Christians of that age, or Mahometans, or Hindus; and should it be laid as a crime to their door, that they did not abandon that principal and greatest place of pilgrimage, and did not entirely lose the hope of attracting such multitudes to the spot, as might perhaps, they thought, re-introduce their faith into the localities where it was first promulgated?

Judging them by their own light, I cannot bring myself to believe that they were not acting a wise and beneficent part; but at the same time I do look on it as a distinct and positive crime to hold up their example as worthy of imitation in the nineteenth century, and I do consider it infamous to attempt to engraft these frauds and superstitions of the dark ages on the purer Christianity of these days. This, however, is a question of the present; I am now speaking of the past, when the clergy were in advance of the people, and, so far from leading them back to darker ages, were employed in leading them forward to a brighter and better state of things; and they did do so through all these ages, though sometimes, it must be confessed, by strange means.

But whatever may have been the motive of the priests, or whatever judgment we may feel inclined to pass on them, the question still remains of the practical difficulty of successfully perpetrating the pious

fraud. This, however, appears to me but a very trifling affair. In the first place, the chances of any pilgrim who had visited the church before the expulsion of the Christians, even if it is assumed that they were not finally expelled till the time of Hakeem (A. D. 996), and who afterwards revisited the new Sepulchre, which was scarcely commenced forty years later, are so very small that they need scarcely be taken into account. If such a pilgrim did exist, he probably was a priest, and consequently, for the honour of his cloth, would not betray the secret; or if a layman, were he inclined to tell tales, means could easily be found to silence him, if necessary: but such a one, in his own country, would either be regarded as a madman, or disbelieved as a thoroughly wicked and infidel scoffer;—indeed, when we see so many miracles and palpable absurdities pass current in those ages, we need scarcely wonder that this one escaped exposure.

But it may be said the pilgrim knew or had heard that the Sepulchre was outside, or at least near the verge of the city, and this one was in the very middle of it, and neither accorded in situation with what he had expected from the Scriptures or what he had been told. But who told him? and what knowledge of the topography of Jerusalem had those pilgrims when they left their native place? We may form some idea of what the extent of their knowledge was, by the history of the disasters of the first crusade, and their amazement at the discovery of Constantinople, and the absurd but disastrous blunders into which their ignorance betrayed them at every step. If they had been told that Jericho or Joppa were Jerusalem, they would have believed it most implicitly.

But shall we allow to them more critical sagacity than is possessed by that long list of illustrious personages who have visited Jerusalem during the present century? They go there and look on a building that avowedly does not pretend, and did not, before the fire, pretend to a single detail anterior to the eleventh century, and situated in the middle of the town,—and, with very few exceptions, they all believe that they are looking at the church which Constantine built in a place outside the walls. They, surely, have better means of knowing than the mediæval pilgrims; but no man has yet doubted that it is the church of Constantine he sees before him, and very few

indeed have suspected that the spot was not always within the city ; and is it not asking too much, to expect from the barbarian of the eleventh century what we do not find in the enlightened graduate of the nineteenth ?

As, again, it may be said, the pilgrim had been taught to believe that the Sepulchre was a cave cut in the rock,—he found a small structural tabernacle standing above the floor of the church, the answer is the same : lords and learned men in hundreds have visited this tomb within these last few years, and nine-tenths of them—though they see the joints of the masonry on the inside and the out, though they perceive that it is built of Breccia and other marbles, and though they cannot see a trace of the live rock in the whole structure—believe that they are looking at a cave, and the cave into which the *Maries* and the *Apostles* looked down !

In those days, the priests did not deny that the church was entirely new ; they openly said that the original building had been razed to the ground, and that the one which the pilgrim there saw before him was begun only in the year 1031 ; so that there was no deceit, and nothing to awaken suspicion here. This was avowedly the new Church of the Holy Sepulchre, rebuilt from the foundations, in consequence of its recent destruction by the Mahometans. What, then, could lead the pilgrim to detect the fraud ? Did he know the locality from maps and plans, as we now do ? Did sketches and plans and sections and details exist then as now, and did he go with his hand-book and measuring tape on an archæological excursion, to explore and test every thing ? This was not within the means or in the spirit of the age, and I need not say was never done. But even if there had been as many wood-cuts and copper-plate engravings and guide-books then as now, we have abundance of instances to prove how easily a little faith can remove these hills, even in reference to this identical Sepulchre, which, during the middle ages and up to the eighteenth century, at least, was a Gothic tabernacle, and immediately before the fire in 1808, still retained some, at least, of its pointed arches and its original form. After the fire, it came out in a new garb, about as much like the old Sepulchre as the modern Cathedral of St. Paul's, built by Sir Christopher Wren, is like the old Gothic

building it replaced. Yet, with all the facts before him, Mr. Williams solemnly believes that the cave now stands as it always did, untouched by time, unharmed by the fire, which affected it so little that it did not even smell of it !

On the whole, it appears to me that if we expect the rude pilgrims of those dark ages to detect a pious fraud like this, we are asking more of them than we find in the calm inquirers of this enlightened time. Of all states of mind, that of the fervid devotion of a superstitious pilgrim seems to me the one least suited for calm inquiry, or for the detection of a trick that is being played upon him ; and I feel convinced, if the priest had read the litany peculiar to this church only, among all the churches of Christendom, and had said, "*de hoc sepulchro resurrexit dominus*,—and, pointing with his finger, had gone on to say, "*surrexit et non hic est*,"¹ in any church within ten miles of the spot, the pilgrim would have bowed his head, overwhelmed by the awful presence in which he found himself, and with his mind as much affected and convinced as if he had witnessed the resurrection itself.

But the great fact remains, that we have had, for some centuries past, calm inquirers of all sorts and denominations, consulting ancient and modern authorities, examining the spot, measuring and comparing, and turning and twisting the subject in every way, all convinced that something is wrong somewhere, and that the question is only one of degree, and a choice of the least difficulty ; yet not one of these men has detected the cheat, though with ten times the means of doing so that were at the command of any one in that age. Still I feel convinced that the one argument that will be used against my view of the case, will be, how very improbable that these pilgrims or crusaders should not have detected what has not yet dawned on any of the literati of the nineteenth century.

There are few weaknesses in human nature more common, and none more fatal, than the necessity most men consider themselves under to persevere in a false statement when once they may have

¹ Jacob de Vitry in *Gesta Dei*, p. 1079 ; Martinus Sanutus in *Secret. Fidel.* iii. vii. 2.

committed themselves to it: even though it may have been from inadvertence, or incompetence, or from some mistaken notion of expediency, few have the courage to retract and confess their error, and get out from the dilemma in which every falsehood necessarily places its author. With the Church of the Middle Ages it became, avowedly, a fixed principle of action, under the pompous and absurd pretence to infallibility,—which it is not given to human nature in any form to possess; and as a consequence of this, whenever she committed herself to an assertion, however absurd, or took up a position, however untenable, she never, on principle, retracted the one or retreated from the other; and nine-tenths of her crimes, and almost all her misfortunes, have arisen from this source.

In the present instance we have rather an amusing illustration of this bad principle; for nothing could well be more puzzlingly ludicrous than the position of the Church of Jerusalem, when it was found that, by the efforts of the crusaders, they were in the possession of two Holy Sepulchres, and the necessity in which they found themselves of adhering to the worst, and what they must then have known to be the false one.

Seventy years earlier the case was widely different; for after four centuries of uninterrupted Mahometan domination, and when, during the whole of that period, the star of the crescent had gradually been on the ascendant, and that of the cross sinking lower and lower, throughout the whole of Palestine,—and when, for the previous sixty years, the Christians had been ill treated, and barely tolerated in Jerusalem,—their churches taken from them, and their lives and property at the mercy of their masters,—at that time the question was, should they be content with such a Sepulchre as they could get, or abandon the idea of its possession altogether. For no man could possibly, under these circumstances, have ever entertained a reasonable hope of recovering in Palestine the ground they had been so steadily losing through so long a period; or could have foreseen, that before the century changed its index, Jerusalem would again have been the capital of a Christian kingdom, and the cross again triumphant on the true Mount Calvary.

Had the Mahometans been as great adepts at persecution as the

Christians, they might have saved the Church this false position; for had they expelled them entirely from the city, or forbid them to worship in Jerusalem, they might have wailed over their Sepulchre, as the Jews have long done over their lost Temple;¹ and, when the hour of triumph came, re-entered it in confidence and pride. Such, however, was not the character of the religion of the Arabian prophet, and every where, throughout the East, Christian communities now exist, and have always done so, under the domination of the Mahometans, though occasionally oppressed, of course, when a bigot or a fanatic happens to be in possession of despotic power.

It is, perhaps, hopeless to attempt to inquire whether in this instance the Christians were expelled from the Sepulchre from feelings of hatred for their religion, or from jealousy that they should possess a more splendid temple, overlooking the whole city, and so near the sacred Al Aksa, or because some growing tradition was springing up that it stood within the enclosure of the holy Temple; but whatever the motive was, their opponents do not seem to have cared,—at least when the heat of the persecution was over,—whether they built new churches and sepulchres in hundreds in the city, provided only it was in that quarter which was then appropriated to their residence, which is where all the buildings we read of being erected in this age were then founded; and we have, in the historians of the Crusades, very distinct accounts of the erection of all the buildings of which we find any trace in this part of the city.

The first appears to have been the church of Santa Maria Latina, which was erected by the merchants of Amalphi, who got a special permission from the Egyptian Chalif for that purpose, during the time of the persecution, and who seem to have obtained it because they were merchants, as contradistinguished from pilgrims or priests:

¹ Had Hadrian, when he erected his temple to Jupiter, allowed the Jews to erect another temple on some other spot, the modern Mount Sion, for instance, the topography of Jerusalem might have been complicated to an extent that might have prevented its being ever understood. We Christians might have been sceptical if the new Temple was the true one; but no Jew would ever have been convinced that his forefathers could be wrong on so essential a point, and many Christians would have added, "how improbable!"

to this was afterwards added—how soon is not quite clear—a monastery for monks; and then, in its neighbourhood, was built a convent for nuns, and lastly an hospital for sick travellers and pilgrims, dedicated to St. John Eleemon of Egypt,—and this congeries of buildings afterwards became the residence of the Knights of St. John, who, from this circumstance, were called Hospitalers; and their situation is perfectly known at this day, by being situated due south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at about the distance of a stone's throw.¹ At the same time it must be borne in mind that none of the accounts make the smallest mention of any previous buildings existing on the spot, though we know that a church of St. Mary did exist in nearly the same relative position to the Sepulchre,—that of Justinian,—in the time of Arculphus and of the monk Bernhard, and there is nothing in the accounts to lead us to suppose that the whole was not an entirely new foundation of this age, which the architectural remains confirm to the fullest extent. On the other hand, all the historians of that age narrate the total destruction of the Church of the Sepulchre, by El Hakeem's order,² and its being rebuilt between 1031 and 1048; and though they do not assert it, it may be assumed that they, or at least some of them, understood it to be on the same site as the old one, though this is by no means clear, and even if it were so, it would be of little value in the controversy.

The most distinct view I can form of the matter—for I do not think the materials admit of any one being quite certain about it—

¹ For these facts, and the circumstances attending the erection, see William of Tyre, xviii. 4 and 5; and Jacob de Vitry, c. 64.

² See above, page 101; and also Glaber, *Hist.* iii. 7, in Bouquet x.; El Macin, iii. 5 and 6; Adimarus in Bouquet x. p. 152-3; Baronius, *Annales*, A. D. 1009, &c. In various parts of Europe, but more especially in the South of France, we continually meet with churches, built in the tenth or eleventh centuries, of the usual oblong rectangular form, which are said to have been built in imitation of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, on which occasion modern archæologists generally think it necessary to be very angry with the stupidity of the monkish chronicler, or of the local cicerone, in repeating such nonsense; for, say they, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is, and always was, round, forgetting that that title was more properly applied to the Basilica of Constantine, which was in existence till the beginning of the eleventh century, and of which these were probably copies, and the tradition therefore perfectly correct.

is, that the persecution of the Christians, and the troubles of Jerusalem, in consequence of the invasion of the Turks, commenced under Muez, A.D. 969, and continued for upwards of 60 years, almost without intermission; and that during this period the Christians were oppressed beyond all precedent, their churches burned or taken from them; and that they were then compelled to abandon the part of the city now known as the Haram es Sherif, and to betake themselves to the quarter then assigned for their residence in the north-western angle of the city;—that in that quarter the merchants of Amalphi built themselves a Mary church, an hospital, and nunnery, and when happier times returned to the oppressed Church of Jerusalem, they built, between 1031 and 1048, in that quarter, a new Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with a Golgotha outside its walls; and when the crusaders obtained possession of the city, they included Golgotha within the church as it is now found, and built all that part of the church to the eastward of the Sepulchre, and, probably, also rebuilt the dome over the tabernacle of the Sepulchre, in the form in which it stood till burnt down in the present century.

In a former part of this work I have stated the strong architectural evidence which existed for believing the Dome of the Rock to be a building of the time of Constantine,—so strong as, in my opinion, to be quite sufficient in itself to settle the matter; and here we find certainly nothing whatever to contradict it, and nothing that can give the present Church of the Sepulchre, or the neighbouring buildings, the smallest claim to be considered as belonging to that age. Indeed, there is not in the quarter of the city where the Sepulchre is situated (except the remains of the old walls, and the Jewish antiquities mentioned above,) one single carved stone or fragment that can claim a date earlier than the period we are now speaking of, or the tenth and eleventh centuries; and nothing that could lead us to suppose that any older Christian buildings ever existed here. To this it may be answered, as far, at least, as the Sepulchre is concerned, that it was burnt down in 1808. This is not quite true, for many parts of the old church still exist; but, admitting it, no author that I know of, speaking of the church before the fire, mentions any fragments of

more ancient architecture existing in it; and certainly none of the drawings of Bernardino Amico, or of any other author, would lead us to suppose that any thing anterior to this age was ever found in the church. Again, it may be said it was utterly destroyed by order of El Hakeem, 1010. The Basilica of Constantine certainly was, and we never afterwards hear any mention of it: some of the authors make the distinction,¹ and they all relate, at the same time, an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the Sepulchre itself. Of course this may be read either way, for it is not certain which way the authors themselves meant it, or if two hundred or more years after the event, they were aware of the distinction, and of the facts; but with the knowledge we now have of the subject, it is pretty clear how it should have been written, though the authors may have intended it differently.

Its destruction and restoration by Modestus, in the seventh century, I have already stated I look upon as most extremely apocryphal; and there is nothing in the history of the church which would lead us to expect so total an absence of earlier remains as is found to be the case. Surely one capital, one shaft, might have been found entire enough to be used again,—a crypt, a foundation wall of the Church of the Sepulchre, or of the Basilica, would somewhere have been traced; or some remains in the neighbourhood of the old church of Golgotha, or that of St. Mary, with its convent, and hospital, and library;—they were not all destroyed, all pulverized to dust—yet not one vestige of them has yet been found,—not a foundation stone, or a trace of the spot on which they stood.

It is possible that this may have been the case; but if so, it is a very exceptional one, and the only instance of the kind I am acquainted with in the whole history of art; but even if a parallel case should be found, I can only add, that it is certainly the most improbable of all the improbable things that have come under notice in the course of this inquiry.

I have, hitherto, stated the argument only in the strongest possible manner against my own views, as if no pilgrim or writer

¹ Ademar in Bouquet x. p. 152.

of the middle ages suspected the real truth of the matter, that the Dome of the Rock was originally the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. So far, however, is this from being the case, that the converse is much nearer the truth. It is true, indeed, that no writer states broadly the fact of there being two Sepulchres in Jerusalem, but almost all of them were aware that this building was a Christian building; and if that is the case, though it might not be apparent to them, it is quite clear to us, that it could be no other than what I have called it; for it is, I think, quite certain that the Christians built no round church over a naked rock with a cave in it, except the one over the Sepulchre, which this, therefore, must be. On this point, so far as the testimony of the historians of that age is concerned, it is infinitely more in favour of the building being Christian than Mahometan. The Mahometans do not lay claim to the building of it, so far as I can trace, till long afterwards, and then seem merely to have found it convenient to forget that the Christians had built it; whereas the Christians are quite positive in their traditions, as we shall presently see. But before going to the authorities, it is necessary to point out a distinction of the utmost importance to the right understanding of the matter; which is that which the writers of this age always make between this church, which they universally call *Templum Domini*, and the Mosque el Aksa, which none of them, so far as I can find out, ever suspected of being a Christian building, and which they call the *Templum*, *Porticus*, or *Palatium Salomonis*, while they never make the mistake of calling the Dome of the Rock by any of these names: in this they are so consistent throughout, that one wonders how the strange theories of modern writers could ever have been allowed to spring up in the face of this direct testimony, which seems to have been universal, till at least the middle of the fourteenth century; for immediately on obtaining possession of Jerusalem, the Crusaders seem to have taken possession of this church (the *Templum Domini*), and established a chapter in it, and used it as a place of prayer; though for fifteen years they left the rock bare and unornamented as they found it.¹ It then, however, was encased with a marble

¹ William of Tyre, viii. 3, in *Gesta Dei*, p. 748.

covering,¹ apparently as it had been long before, and then was applied to it the very ambiguous name by which it was always afterwards known, while the Templars were allowed to desecrate the Aksa as they pleased, and indeed used it merely as a residence,—the palatium, in short, from which all their deeds are dated.

The earliest authority we have on this subject is Sæwulf, who visited the city four years only after it fell into the hands of the crusaders. He is quite distinct in calling it *Templum Domini*, and says it was situated two bow-shots to the eastward of the Church of the Sepulchre, and that to the southward of it was the Temple of Solomon; though at the same time it must be observed, that, with the inconsistency of one following a false tradition, he calls the rock in the round church the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, where the Ark was placed.²

To the eastward of Solomon's Temple there was then, as now, the bath of Jesus and the bed of the Blessed Virgin. With regard to the building of this church, he first mentions the tradition that it was built by Hadrian, and then that it was built as it now stands by

¹ Jelal-addin, p. 247, where there is rather an amusing account of the sculpture with which it was adorned. Compare Adamnanus in BernharDO; *Recueil de Voy. de la Soc. Géo. de Paris*, tom. iv. p. 796. "Nam extrinsecus usque ad culminis summitatem totum marmore tectum est."

² Sæwulf in *Recueil de Voyages*, publié par la Soc. Géo. de Paris, tom. iv. p. 833, *et seq.* "Descenditur autem de Sepulchro Domini quantum arcus balista bis jactare potest ad Templum Domini quod est ad orientalem plagam Sancti Sepulchri."—xx. p. 842.

"In atrio Templi Domini ad meridiem est Templum Solomonis miræ magnitudinis ad cujus orientalem plagam est oraculum quoddam habens cunabulum Christi Jesu et balneum ipsius et lectum beatæ matris ejus—testantibus Assyriis."—p. 844.

"Nos scimus quod extra portam passus Dominus sed Adrianus imperator qui Ælius vocabatur reedificavit civitatem Jerosolimam et Templum Domini. * * * Quidam autem dicunt civitatem fuisse a Justiniano imperatore restauratum et Templum Domini similiter sicut est adhuc—sed illi dicunt secundum opinionem et non secundum veritatem, Assirii enim quorum patres coloni erant illius patriæ a prima persecutione dicunt civitatem septies esse captum et destructum post Domini passionem simul cum omnibus ecclesiis sed non omnino precipitatum."—p. 840.

"Ibi adhuc apparent in rupe vestigia Domini dum ipse abscondidit se et exivit de templo sicut in Evangelio legitur, ne Judei in illum lapides jacerent quos tulerant."—p. 843.

Justinian. It is true he rejects both on very insufficient grounds ; but he does not hint that the Mahometans built it, and it is easy to see why he passes over Constantine, who was the true builder, for just before he had said that he and his mother had built the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and it was known then, as now, that that was the principal, if not the only edifice erected by that emperor in Jerusalem.

One other very curious fact is mentioned by this author, which is the print of the foot of Christ left on the rock when he escaped from the Temple lest the Jews should stone him. I have very little doubt indeed that this was originally the print supposed to be left when he rose from the tomb : it now is understood to be that of Mahomet when he ascended to Heaven from this rock on the celebrated night journey !¹ and is held in the greatest reverence by his followers.

Albertus Aquensis is even more distinct, for, according to him, many attest that this *Templum Domini* was built in modern times by Christians ; and he further mentions a golden vase that hung in its centre, which contained, according to some, the blood of the Lord, though others asserted it was only manna.²

Jacob de Vitry also confirms what is said by these authors on both points, though he seems to say that the one was called the Temple of Solomon, to distinguish it from the other, which was called the Temple of our Lord.³

The only author that takes a view distinctly opposed to this, that I am aware of, is William of Tyre, and he asserts twice over that it

¹ Jelal-addin, p. 210 ; Ali Bey, ii. 220, &c.

² "Hoc templum quod dicitur domini non illud antiquum ac mirabile opus regis Salomonis intelligendum est * * * Verum templum hoc postea a modernis et Christianis cultoribus reedificatum plures attestantur. * * * In media sequidem testudine ejusdem templi moderni rotundam catenam esse asseverant in qua vas aurei * * * pendere semper solet. Quod urnam auream alii affirmant alii sanguinem Domini alii manna in eo absconditum."—*Gesta Dei*, p. 281.

³ "Templum autem Domini sanctum—a fidelibus tamen et religiosis viris opere rotundo et decenter et magnifice—iterum est reparatum. * * * Est præterea Hierosolymis templum aliud immense quantitatæ et amplitudinis a quo fratres militiæ Templi Templarii nominantur. Quod Templum Solomonis nuncupatur forsitan ad distinctionem alterius quod specialiter Templum Domini appellatur."—Jacob de Vitry, c. lxii. in *Gesta Dei*, pp. 1080 and 1081.

was built by Omar Ibn Khatab, and appeals to the inscription on its walls in testimony of this, but with an earnestness that looks very suspicious; and I cannot help thinking that, as Archbishop of Tyre, he was in the secret, and consequently anxious to conceal it: and this appeal to inscriptions, which Christians had not access to in his day, and could not read if they had, appears to me about as clumsy an argument as could well be used to prove a bad case.¹ He points out, however, the distinction between the *Templum Domini* and that of Solomon, as do, indeed, all the authors who wrote on the subject, down to the sixteenth century;—among others, the much, though I think most unjustly, maligned Sir John Maundeville, who says, “And after that, Adryan, that was Emperor of Rome, made Jerusalem agen, and the Temple, in the same manere, as Solomon made it. This Temple is sixty-four cubytes in wydnesse, and as manye in lengthe, and in heighte it is one hundred and twenty cubytes;—and fro that Temple, towards the southe, ryte nyghe, is the Temple of Solomon, that is right fair and wel pollisscht, and in that Temple dwellen the Knightes of the Temple that weren wont to be clept Templeres; and in Templo Domini Chanoines Reguleres; and fro that Temple, towards the est, one hundred and twenty paas, in the corner of the cytie, is the bathe of our Lord, and in that bathe was wont to come water fro paradys, and yet it droppeth, and there beside was our Ladyes bed.”²

Brocardus, whose tract was one of the most esteemed, is particularly distinct on this subject, and not only distinguishes carefully between the *Templum Domini* and the Palace of Solomon, but adds that the area of the Temple was square, and a bow-shot, or a bow-shot and a little more, on each side,—which, I take it, cannot possibly be stretched to more than 600 feet; and he also seems to have been perfectly aware of its correct position, though there certainly is some confusion in the recensions we now have, probably arising from subsequent writers being unable to reconcile his expression with their knowledge; but I think there can be no doubt that, as the passage

¹ William of Tyre, i. 2; and viii. 3.

² *Voiage et Travaile*. London, 1727, pp. 100, 105.

stands, he understands the Palatium Salomonis, or in other words, the Aksa, to be the modern representative of the old Temple.¹ Martinus Sanutus is equally distinct; for, after describing the Templum Domini, which he does with great minuteness, he speaks of the Temple of Solomon as near to it, and then adds, that no Christian was allowed to enter it, though it would appear from the context that they were allowed to enter the other.²

All the German travellers, that I am acquainted with, of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, who speak of the subject, make the same distinction, but none of them lay claim to either building as erected by Christians; though at the same time they do not ascribe them to the Mahometans, which is curious; and their evidence is consequently of little importance one way or another, but certainly more in favour of their having suspected the truth than against it.³ One curious fact is mentioned by one of them, Hans Werli von Zimbri, who says that the outside of the Temple was covered with mosaics, like the interior of St. Mark's church at Venice,

¹ "Mons Moriah in quo Templum Domini et Palatium Regis edificata erant. * * Area autem templi quadrata est, habens in latitudine et longitudine jactum arcus et aliquid plus spatii, at Templum in ea nunc edificatum adhæret fere muro civitatis quum vetus Templum longe ab eo dissesum fuerit quippe quatuor atriis interpositis; nec modo distat a muro torrentis Cedron ultra triginta pedes."—Brocardus in Ugolini Thesaurum, vi. p. 1047. In the recension in Canisii Thesaurus, iv. p. 18, the words are, "plene jactum unius arcus."

² "Juxta Templum Domini aiunt esse Templum Salomonis in quo sunt duo Templa, illuc nullus Christianorum intrare permittitur."—Mart. Sanut. Secret. Fidel. Cruc. III. xiv. 9.

³ "Solomon's Tempel mit rundem werk und Griechisher arbeit erbauet * * Item bey demselbigen Tempel ist eine lange schöne Kirche, vor zeiten Porticus Salomonis genannt, aber dieweil Jerusalem war unter gewalt der Christen empfing dieselbige Kirche ihren namen von Maria.

"Item unter dem obgenannten Kirchen der jungfrauen Maria die auch Porticus Salomonis heisset, ist gar ein wunderbarlich & weit gebauw unter der Erden, also das 600 Pherde gerugendlich da mögen gehalten werden."—Johann Grafen zu Solms in Reisebuch des Heiligen Landes, p. 61. See also, in same collection, Rudolph von Suchem (A. D. 1336), p. 449; Melchior von Seydlitz (A. D. 1559), p. 255; also Leonhart Rauchwolff (A. D. 1573), p. 331; Johann Tuchern (A. D. 1479), p. 356; and Hans von Werli (A. D. 1484), p. 135. See also Breydenbach and Faber, in the same collection, pp. 111 and 251, &c.; all of whom repeat the same description almost in the same words.

with this exception, that there were no figures except of cherubim and palm-trees, &c.; which would look as if the upper part of the outer walls was at least finished in his day, and in a manner very unlike any thing the Mahometans ever did. The cherubim are allowed to remain on the vaults of St. Sophia at Constantinople to this day, but I am not aware that any one has remarked any thing of the kind at Jerusalem.¹

One of the latest authors, in whom I have found the tradition of its being a Christian building mentioned, is Zuallardo, (A. D. 1595,) who seems more inclined to ascribe it to St. Helena than to Omar,² though the latter was by this time, by general consent, acquiring a tolerable title to a building he certainly had as little claim to, as he had to the building of St. Paul's Cathedral.

If it were worth while, this inquiry might be carried much further; but it does not appear to me of sufficient importance to the argument, either one way or another, to justify much pains or labour being bestowed upon it. At all events, I must leave it to some one more intimately familiar with the writers of that age than I can pretend to be, to complete the evidence, if he thinks it worth his while. Enough has, I believe, been stated above to point out the principal features of the case, which, both from direct authority, as well as from what may be assumed inferentially, appear to me to be these: that the crusaders were generally aware that this Dome of the Rock was not a Mahometan building, but had been erected either by the Romans or by the Christians; but being unable to account for its erection by them, they assumed it to stand over the Holy of Holies of Solomon's Temple; though it is difficult to understand how so clumsy a tradition could ever gain ground, for Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple was one of the most current traditions of the Church; and in the age of Eutychius—the ninth century—we

¹ "Der Tempel is rondt untem herumb fast weit & die wände sind rings herumb von aussen köstlich mussiert also S. Marx Kirche zu Venedig innwendig ist * * * doch so ist an Salomon's Tempel in der Musierung kein Bilderwerk anderst den Cherubim & dabey Palmen-baum & gespreng, &c."—Hans Werli von Zimbri in Reisebuch, p. 135.

² "Tempio di Salomone fatto della sopra detta Santa Helena o secondo alcuni da Homor filiuolo di Catab."—Viaggio di Gerusalemme, p. 152.

know that the site of the Temple was, by the Church, considered as accursed; and so it would have remained, had Christian tradition been worth any thing in that dark age. Still in their "*embarras des richesses*," the priests do not seem to have hit on any more probable tradition than this; and immediately on the recovery of the city by the Crusaders they adopted this church as the principal one of Jerusalem, after the Holy Sepulchre, and with the Mahometan tradition, that the rock in its centre was the Holy of Holies of the cursed Temple of the ten times accursed Jews!—a fact in itself sufficient, I think, to prove that there is something radically wrong here in the tradition; and the fact is undoubted of its appropriation in this strange dedication, though with the ambiguous title of *Templum Domini*, as contradistinguished from the *Templum Solomonis*.

At the same time the Mosque el Aksa seems principally to have been used as a residence, sometimes for the Kings, but generally for the Knights Templars; and no author of that age, that I have met with, ascribes its erection to the Christians; though, as we have seen above, in the fourteenth century the tradition was, that it had, during the occupation of the city by the Crusaders, been used as a church dedicated to the Virgin; which, however, is not confirmed by earlier writers, nor, I think, by the general probabilities of the case; for as far as I can understand, the Crusaders, more particularly the Templars, seem to have looked upon it as a building of the infidels, which they considered themselves at liberty to desecrate and use as they thought proper. The tradition is now, I am aware, universal in Jerusalem, and is so recorded by all modern travellers, without exception, as far as I know; but this is modern, and even if it were more ancient, would be of the same value as other traditions in Jerusalem, which, I believe, I have said enough above to show were of but little value for any purpose.

This ascription, however, of the name of the Temple of Solomon only to the Mosque el Aksa is, as far as it goes, a confirmation of my views of the size and position of Solomon's Temple,—not, of course, one on which I would rely in any question directly relating to that building, but one of considerable importance when we come

to consider the motives that guided the Christians and Mahometans in the erection of these buildings within the sacred enclosure; for if we can feel assured that Constantine, and all who succeeded him, down, at least, to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, knew the size and position of Solomon's Temple, we can at once explain why they erected these buildings where they did; and to me it appears as clear as the sun at noon-day, that they had the knowledge, and acted on it throughout.

One other antiquity, though the least in size, I must notice before leaving the subject. It is the two fragments of the Sakrah which are still preserved by the Mahometans, under two cupolas in the enclosure of the Haram es Sherif, though how they came there, or what the Mahometans take them to be, is by no means clear. Ali Bey merely mentions them as fragments of the sacred rock.¹ Jelal-addin mentions that the Crusaders, during their occupation, had severed two pieces from the Sakrah; but adds, that one was carried to Constantinople, the other sold, for its weight in gold, to the Russians;² and if this is literally true, of course they would not be found remaining here; but the earlier Christian historians, Antoninus³ and Arculphus,⁴ mention that the stone that was rolled by the angel from the mouth of the Sepulchre was divided into two parts, which served as altars, one at the door of the cave, the other in another part. Bernhard⁵ mentions, it is true, only one, but does not say there was not another fragment elsewhere. After the rebuilding of the church in the eleventh century, we have no mention of the stone lying before the door of the Sepulchre; it is then only one to represent the original stone, as is said in St. Willibald's Life;⁶ and after this it is either not mentioned, or is, as now, a fragment built into the wall of the tabernacle of the new Sepulchre, which pilgrims kiss

¹ Ali Bey, *Travels*, &c., ii. p. 225; and on his plan they are found under references 27 and 58.

² Jelal-addin, *History of the Temple*, p. 249.

³ Antonini *Mart. Iter*, p. 14.

⁴ "Quem Arculphus intercisum et in duas divisum partes refert."—*Lib. de Locis Sanctis* in Mabillon, *Sæc. III. Pars ii.* p. 505.

⁵ *Acta Sanctorum*, *Sæc. III. Pars ii.* p. 524.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 375.

to this day; and I cannot therefore help thinking that these two fragments of the Sakrah, which the Mahometans preserve so carefully, are the two identical fragments mentioned by Antoninus and Arculphus, and which they have inherited from the Christians, as they have the church itself; though they now choose to adopt the tradition mentioned by Jelal-addin to account for them, and even show the part of the rock, at its northern edge, from which they say the Christians cut them. In this, however, I believe, they are about as correct as they are with regard to the Dome of the Rock itself; but if any one is of a different opinion, I fear I cannot prove what I here suggest, and can only state my own belief, without much caring if others follow me, as the point is of no great importance after all.

CONCLUSION.

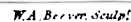
It would have been easy to extend these remarks on the ancient topography of Jerusalem to twice the length to which I have allowed myself to go; indeed, those who are familiar with the volumes upon volumes that have been written on the subject will understand that the great difficulty has been to compress within less than two hundred pages all that I had to say regarding it. After all, however, the pith of the argument is contained in the two Plates, Nos. III. and VI., with the references in the text to the authorities from which they have been constructed. It is from them that it will be judged, and I do not know that I could, by saying more about it, make the matter much clearer. To judge from what I myself should require to understand the question at issue, I have said too much; but I feel that others may raise objections which would not occur to my mind, and I have tried, as far as I could, to anticipate and meet them at once: whether or not I have succeeded in this, others must determine.

At the same time, I am aware that I have omitted all mention of some of the minor antiquities, which it may be expected, from the

title of the work, I should have attempted to explain; but I have not done so, because it would have required as much reading and thought on my part, to ascertain the facts regarding them, as it has required for the more important ones; and after all, any one with local knowledge—which I do not possess—may, if I have succeeded in determining the larger ones, fix these without much trouble, should it be thought worth while. From this circumstance it may be discovered, perhaps, that when I have incidentally alluded to these minor antiquities, I may, either through carelessness or ignorance, have been mistaken regarding them; for, in fact, I have paid no attention to them. The points to which I have turned my mind and attempted to settle, are four: the size and situation of Herod's Temple; the position of the Hippicus, and the course of the ancient walls; the true position of Sion; and, more especially—for to this the whole argument is subservient—the position of the Christian buildings erected by Constantine and Justinian. If I have fixed these in opposition to all those who have preceded me, I have added my quota to the correct knowledge of the topography of the Holy City, and shall willingly resign the rest to others. My object in writing this book has been to vindicate the Bible and early Christian tradition from the slur indirectly cast upon them by our inability to trace, in Jerusalem, the scenes and localities they describe; and, if possible, to place these on a sound and rational basis. If I have succeeded in effecting this, I am not anxious about the rest, and shall not care much though the sharp eyes of critics should discover faults in every alternate line of the work.

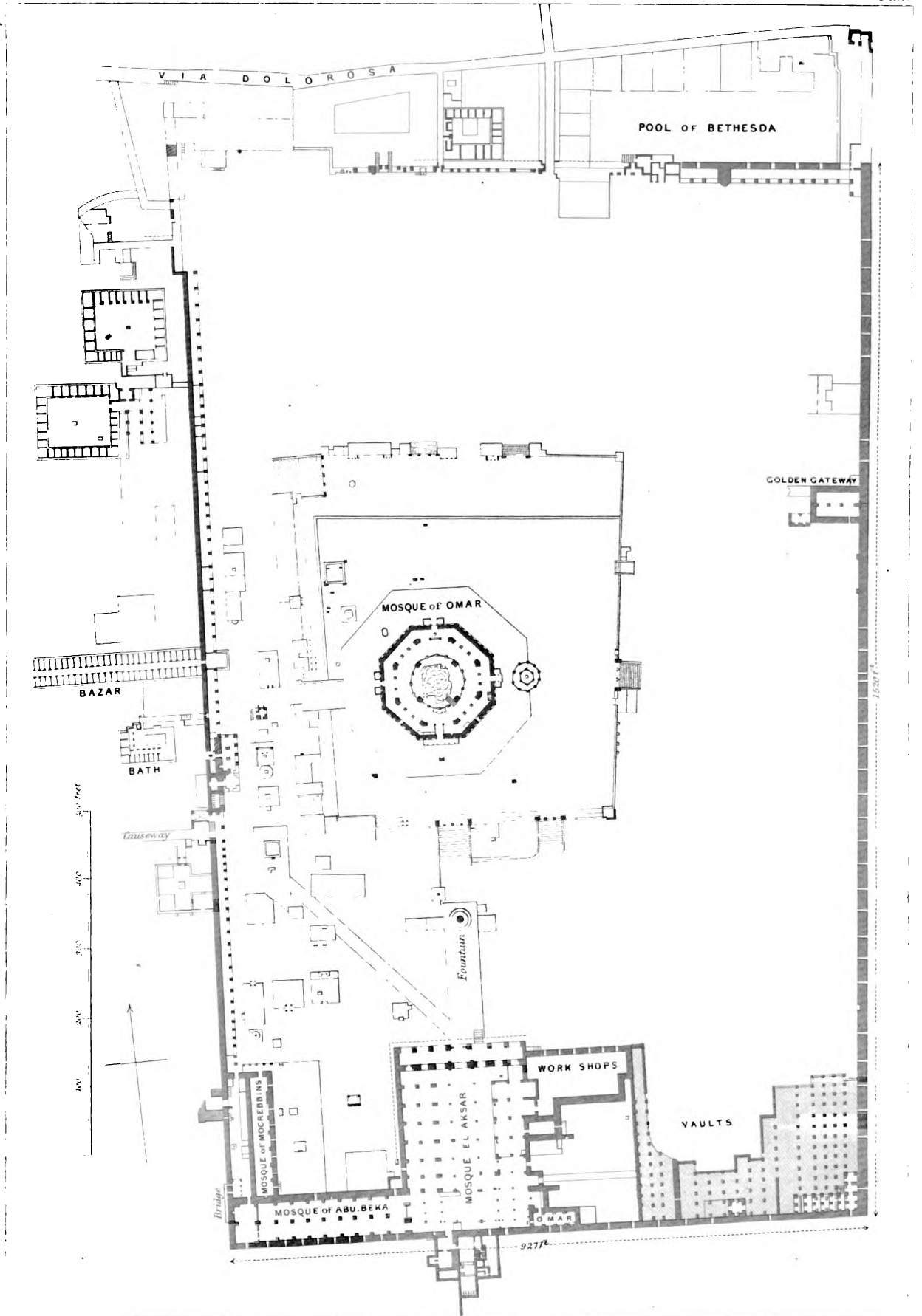
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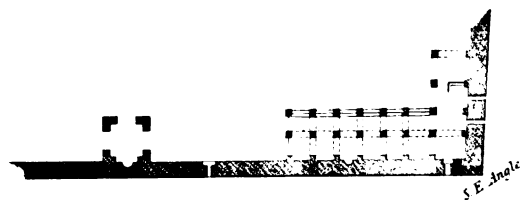
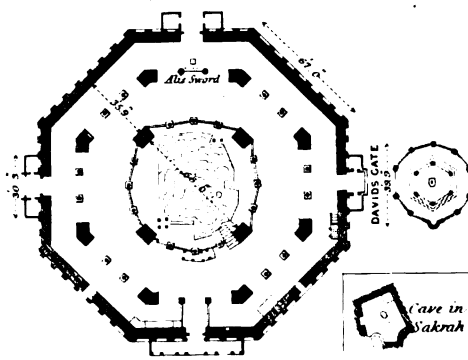
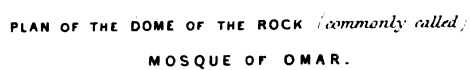
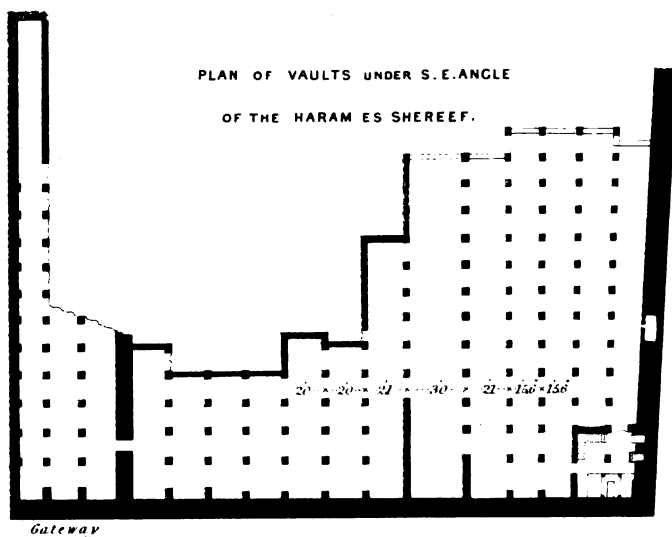
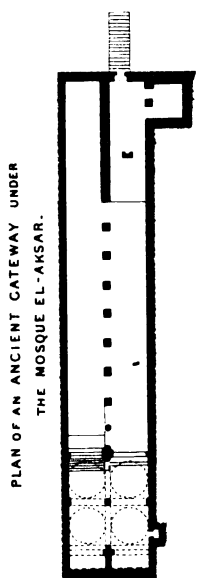
PL III



GENERAL PLAN OF THE HARAM ES SHEREEF.

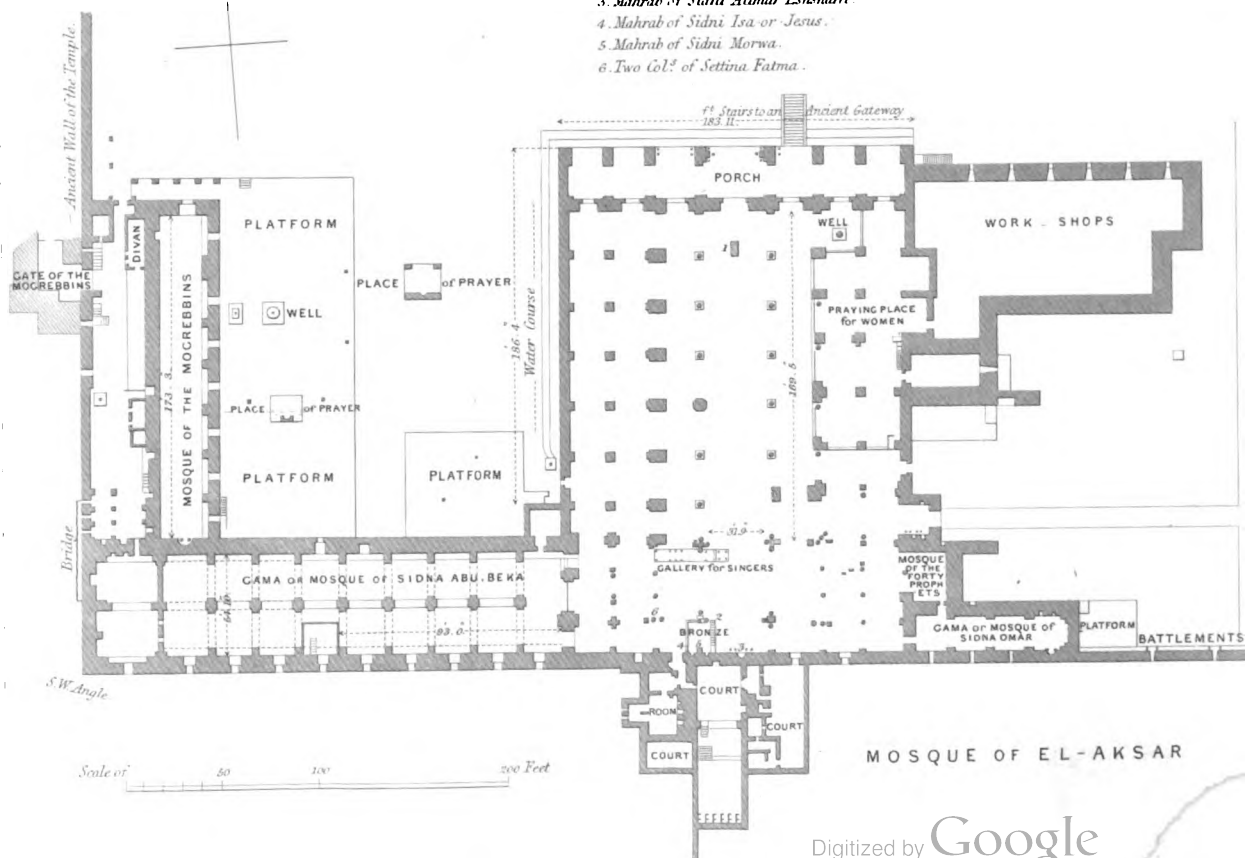
PL. II

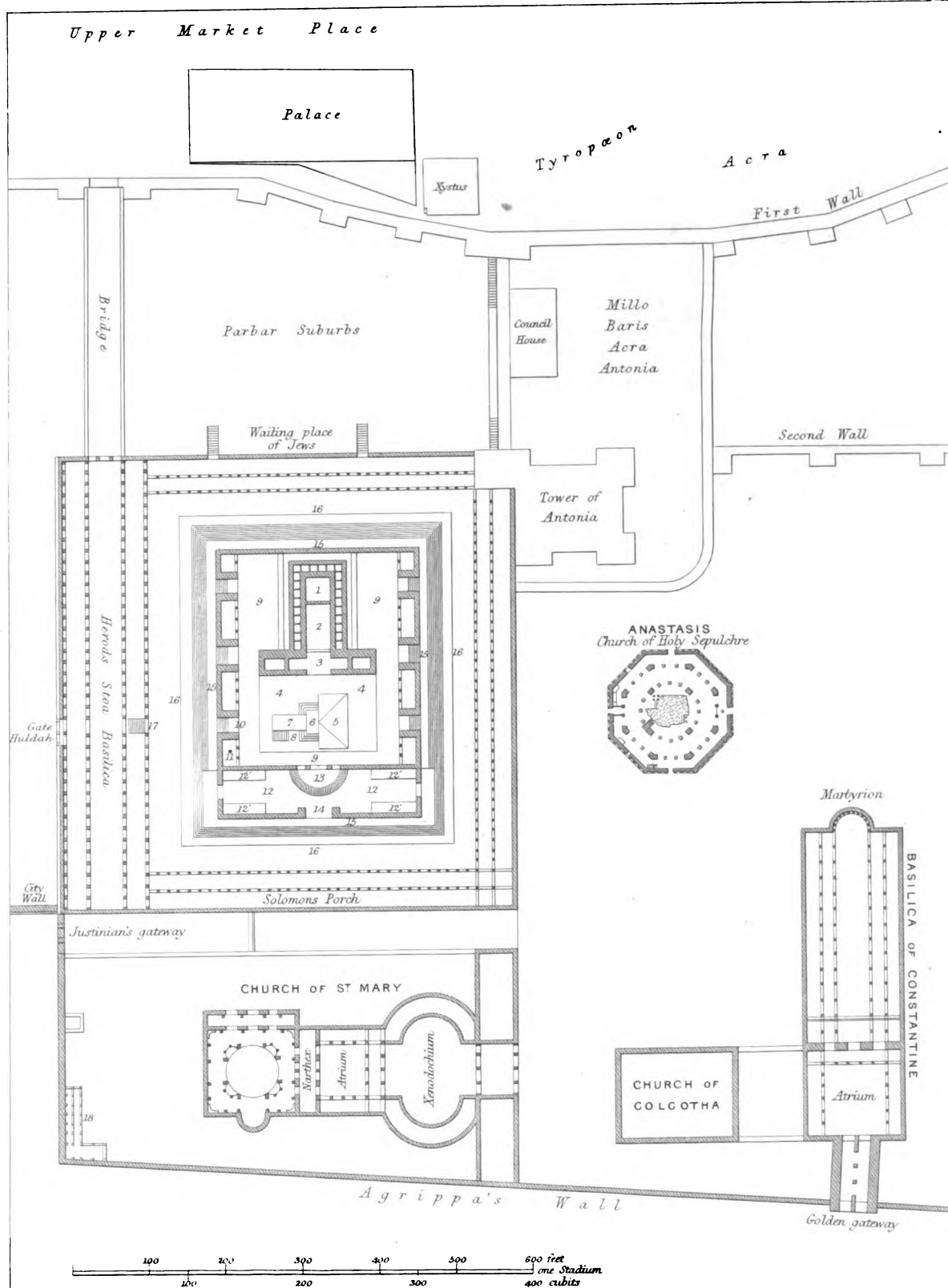




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1. *The Graves of the Sons of the Prophet Aaron.*
2. *Pulpit of Sidni Omar*
3. *Mahrab of Sidni Alimar Eshshatti.*
4. *Mahrab of Sidni Isa or Jesus.*
5. *Mahrab of Sidni Morwa.*
6. *Two Col^s of Settina Fatma.*





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| 1 Holy of Holies | 7 Ascent to Altar | 13 Steps leading to the triple Gate (Viewed 1) |
| 2 Naos | 8 Steps in front of Akra | 14 Corinthian gate J |
| 3 Pronaos | 9 Court of Israel | 15 Chel |
| 4 Court of Priests | 10 Water gate | 16 Boundary of court of gentiles |
| 5 Altar according to Josephus | 11 Well of Akra | 17 Steps of double gateway |
| 6 d ^o d ^o Talmud | 12 Court of Women | 18 Bath & Cradle of Jesus |
| | 12' Vaulted Apartments | |

